M. S. ANDRONOV

DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

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The book is a succinct summary of the present state of research in the Dravidian languages based on the author's own studies as well as those of most eminent Dravidologists.

The book presents a comparative description of the phonetics and grammar of all known Dravidian languages.

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I.M. Dyakonoff, Semito-Hamitic Languages.

1967

Y.A. Gorgoniyev, The Khmer Language.
V.V. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov, Sanskrit.
S.N. Sokolov, The Avestan Language.

1969

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V. Krupa, The Maori Language.

We beg readers to address their wishes and criticisms to Editorial Board of "Languages of Asia and Africa", Central Department of Oriental Literature, "Nauka" Publishing House, Armyansky Pereulok 2, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

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INTRODUCTION

The majority of the Dravidian languages are concentrated in India (namely, its southern and south-eastern parts). They are also spoken in Pakistan and Ceylon, as well as (to a lesser degree) in a number of neighbouring countries. Nineteen Dravidian languages have so far been studied with different thoroughness: Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Kodagu, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh, Malto and Brahui. This list is far from exhaustive: some Dravidian languages have been studied only fragmentarily, and the knowledge of many is limited only to their names. This refers to such languages and dialects as Korava (Kurru, Yerukala), Kaikadi, Burgandi, Irula, Kasuva, Kuruba (Kurumba), Bellari, Koraga, Badaga, Yerava, Savara (distinct from a Munda language of the same name), Manda and Pengo. There might as well be others.

Four major Dravidian languages - Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu - are among the constitutional languages of India; each has a rich literature of its own.

Tamil has the widest geographical distribution. Apart from India, where it is the official language of the state of Tamilnad spoken by thirty million people, Tamil is spread in Ceylon (more than two million speakers), as well as in Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia and Indo-China (about a million speakers), in Central and South Africa (more than 250 thousand speakers), Guyana and the Fiji, Mauritius, Reunion, Madagascar, Trinidad and Martinique.

Of all cognate languages Tamil has the most ancient literature. The oldest known literary monuments go back

approximately to the second or third century A.D. (anthologies "Pattuppattu" /"Ten Songs"/ and "Ettuttohai" /"Eight Collections"/).[1] The oldest Tamil epigraphic monuments also go back to the very beginning of our era.[2]

Tamil exists in several varieties, the basic ones being literary and colloquial. Today none of the inhabitants of Tamilnad would use the literary language in oral communication, since special study is required to get a proper command of the language, which is basically a specialised medium of writing for the educated classes. The literary variety of Tamil includes the modern literary language (i.e. the language of newspapers, magazines, most of the fiction, as well as letters, etc.) and classical Tamil, the language of the ancient literature, mainly poetry, with its more than 1500 years of varied history.

The colloquial language is the modern national language of the Tamils who understand it equally well wherever they might live. Colloquial Tamil is not codified: it has neither a conventional system of writing, nor a canonized grammar. Its phonetic and morphological norms differ widely from those of the literary language, whose knowledge cannot spare a foreigner the trouble of deliberately learning to speak the colloquial language. Thus, it is the only means of oral communication. Its domain is being ever widened, covering already the film and broadcasting, as well as the theatre and of late even some of the works of fiction. There has been such a rapid expansion of the colloquial language into fiction that many works of contemporary authors cannot be properly understood without the knowledge of this variety of Tamil.[3]

Colloquial Tamil as the national language should be distinguished from Tamil dialects. The latter are in fact close to each other. According to the author's field data

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1 S.Vaiyapuri Pillai, "History of Tamil Language and Literature", Madras, 1956.
2 I.Mahadevan, "Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions of the Sangam Age", Madras, 1968.
3 For more detail cf. M.S.Andronov, "Razgovorny tamil'sky yazyk i ego dialekty", Moscow, 1962, pp. 5-7, 43-44.

of 1958-1959, five dialects are to be distinguished: eastern (the districts of Tanjore and Tiruchirapalli as well as the northeastern part of the Madurai district), northern (the city of Madras, the districts of Chingleput, North and South Arcot), southern (the districts of Tirunelveli, Ramnadpuram and the southwestern part of the Madurai district), western (the districts of Nilgiri, Coimbatore and Salem) and the dialect of Ceylon.[4] The national colloquial language formed on the basis of the closely related eastern and northern dialects. The literary language developed from an ancient dialect of the eastern districts, known as "sendamizh".[5]

Social dialects play an important role in Tamil. These include a social dialect of the brahmins and the social dialects of the "lower" castes (vulgar usage). They are characterised by some phonetic and morphological peculiarities.

Tamil is a language of a vast eighteen centuries' old literature. Apart from the above-mentioned anthologies, the following important classical works should be mentioned: the poems "Shilappadiharam" by Ilango, "Manimehalai" by Sattanar (around the 9th century A.D.), "Jiavahasindamani" by Tiruttakkadevar (around the 10th century A.D.), "Ramayanam" by Kamban, the collections of poems inspired by moral and ethical problems "Tirukkural" by Tiruvalluvar and "Naladiyar" (around the 7th-8th centuries), "Tiruvasaham", Shivaite hymns by Manikkavasahar (around the 9th century), etc.

The Kannada language spoken by seventeen million people in the state of Mysore is documented from the middle of the fifth century A.D. The oldest inscription in Kannada found near Halmidi (the district of Hassan) goes back to about 450 A.D. Several petroglyphic inscriptions of laws

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4 This list of Tamil dialects was first established by the author in 1960 (cf. M.S.Andronov, "Tamil'sky yazyk", Moscow, 1960, pp. 9-10).
5 M.S.Andronov, "Razgovorny tamil'sky yazyk..", pp.43-44.

and edicts remained from later centuries, until the ninth century saw the appearance of the first major written monument - "Kavirajamarga", a poetic treatise in verse. The oldest literary monuments in Kannada, the poems "Adipurana" and "Samastabharata" attributed to the poet Pampa, go back to the tenth century. At the same time it cannot be ruled out that Pampa had predecessors among the ancient poets mentioned by Nripatunga, the author of "Kavirajamarga".

Kannada passed several stages in its development: Old (5th-13th centuries), Middle (13th-19th centuries) and Modern (from the mid-nineteenth century). The literary and colloquial varieties of Kannada are as far apart as in Tamil. The colloquial language is not uniform, and includes several local, social and tribal dialects. Among the former the dialects of the inner regions of Mysore show features that distinguish them from the coastal dialects. On the social scale brahmanic and low-caste dialects are set off against dialects spoken by middle castes. There are, finally, a few tribal dialects, such as Jenu-Kuruba, Ane-Kuruba, Sholiga, etc.[6] The dialectal base of literary Kannada remains still to be discovered. It may have sprung from the dialects of Central Mysore (according to Nripatunga within the area limited by Kishuvolalu /Pattatakallu/, Pulikere /Lakshmeshvara/, Koppana /Koppala/ and Onkunta).

Literature in Kannada is only slightly behind its Tamil counterpart as far as antiquity and richness are concerned. Thus, apart from Pampa's poems, no less important poetry by Ponna and Ranna appeared as early as the 11th-12th centuries, to be followed by several original poems, as well as translations from Sanakrit, including "Prabhulingalile" by Chamarasa and "Mahabharata" by Kumara Vyasa. Preaching bhakti poets (Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa and others), who composed their hymns and songs in the

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[6] Cf. D.N.S.Bhat, "A survey of the Mysore district", Linguistic Survey Bulletin, Poona, 1968, No. 1, pp.1-6; D.N.S.Bhat, "Coastal Kannada", Linguistic Survey Bulletin, Poona, 1968, No. 6, pp. 1-6.

common spoken language of the time, exerted considerable influence on the language of literature.

Telugu is the official language of the state of Andhra. It is also spoken outside this territory - in certain districts of the states of Tamilnad and Mysore, as well as in southeast Asia. The total number of Telugu-speaking population exceeds thirty seven million people.

The oldest Telugu inscription goes back to 633 A.D. However, while surpassing other Dravidian languages in the number of speakers, Telugu cannot compete with them as to the antiquity of its literature, whose emergence is generally connected with the poets Nannaya, Tikkana and Errapragada, who translated "Mahabharata" from Sanskrit into Telugu in the 11th-14th centuries. The first original works in Telugu began to appear only in the 14th-16th centuries.

Telugu is also characterised by significant differences between the classical literary language and the colloquial variety, which gradually penetrated literature and became dominant in the press, film and broadcasting. Five dialects may be distinguished in Telugu: the dialect of the eastern districts (Guntur, Krishna, Godavari), the dialect of Rayalasima (the districts of Karnul, Kadappa, Anantapur and Bellari), the dialect of Telengana, the dialect of the southeastern districts (Nellore, Chittore) and the dialect of the northeastern districts (Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam).

The Telugu literature at first developed on the basis of the classical language of "Andhra Mahabharata", which was also used by such outstanding poets of the 14th-16th centuries as Srinatha and B.Pottana. The literature in the common colloquial language appeared around the 15th century, when preaching bhakti poets (Vemana, Somanatha, Virabrahmam) began to address the broad masses in the language they could understand. In the 19th-20th centuries such outstanding Telugu writers as K.Viresalingam, Guruzada Apparao, Sri Sri and others have done much to establish the colloquial language in literature.

The Malayalam language is the native language of more than seventeen million people who live mainly in the state of Kerala. Malayalam developed from an Old Tamil dialect.

Epigraphic inscriptions enable one to trace the history of Malayalam up to the 10th century. Malayalam finally separated from Tamil and began to produce its own literature sometime in the 13th or 14th century (the first major work was "Ramacharitam", a poem which used the plot of the Sanskrit "Ramayana").

Colloquial Malayalam, which differs considerably from the literary language, has been studied only fragmentarily. The same is true of the Malayalam dialects, which are believed to number three: southern (on the territory of the former principality of Travancore), central (on the territory of the former principality of Kochin) and northern (to the north of Kozhikode).

Until recently Malayalam literature was heavily under Sanskrit influence. The mediaeval poets (among whom T.Ezhuttaccan, 16th century, should be singled out) employed Sanskrit metres, and their language was highly Sanskritised. In the 18th century satirical poet K.Nambiyar tried to infuse the elements of the common colloquial language into the language of poetry. However, this democratic trend in the Malayalam literature began to gain ground only in the last forty or fifty years owing to the activity of such poets and prose-writers as Vallatol, U.Parameshvara Aiyar, G.Shankara Kurup, T.Shivashankara Pillai, S.K.Pottekat and others.

The Tuluva people, numbering about 940 thousand, live on the west coast of India near Mangalore (the district of South Cannara). Originally a variety of the Malayalam script was used for writing in Tulu, but since the mid-nineteenth century the Kannada script has been used for this purpose. The first printed book in Tulu appeared in 1842, but even now Tulu printed matter is limited to school books and Bible translations. Other literature in Tulu has not developed.

The Nilgiri mountains and the surrounding mountainous regions near the meeting-place of Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu are inhabited by several small Dravidian tribes: Kota (about nine hundred people in the Kotagiri mountains), Toda (about eight hundred people in the Nil-

gifi near Ootacamund) and Kodagu (about 80 thousand people in the vicinity of Mercara).

This area is known to include more than ten other Dravidian languages which have not yet been studied: Badaga (about 90 thousand people), Kuruba (about 9 thousand people), Yerava (about 15 thousand people), Yerukala (about 70 thousand people), Kaikadi (about 9 thousand people), as well as such minor languages as Korava (about 6 thousand), Irula (about 4 thousand), Burgandi (about 2 thousand) and others.

Two more Dravidian languages, Beliari and Koraga, spoken by backward tribes (one thousand speakers strong each), have recently been discovered in the spurs of the Western Ghats east of Kundapur.

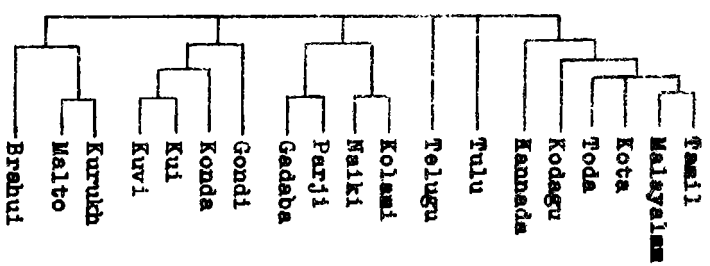
Border regions of the states of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (the districts of Amravati, Wardha, Yeotmal, Chanda, Bastar and Adilabad) are inhabited by three other Dravidian tribes: Kolami (46 thousand people), Naiki (about a thousand people) and Parji (about 85 thousand people speaking in three Parji dialects - northern, northwestern and southern). In the district of Koraput (the state of Orissa) a Dravidian language of Konda is spoken by twelve thousand people. The same district of Koraput as well as adjoining parts of Andhra (the district of Srikakulam) form the territory of the Gadaba tribe (about 40 thousand people), which speaks two related dialects of this language - Ollari and Salur (or Poya). The same territory is also inhabited by the tribes which speak the still unknown languages of Savara, Manda and Pengo. The Khond tribes (about 600 thousand people), speaking two closely related languages, Kui and Kuvi, occupy a sizable territory in the mountains near the Mahanadi river in Orissa (the districts of Ganjam, Budh-Khondmals, Kalahanadi and Koraput) and Andhra Pradesh (the district of Visakhapatnam). The Gonds (more than 1.6 million people), who speak various dialects of Gondi (Gondi proper, Koya, Dorli, Maria, Parsi Gondi), are scattered over a vast territory in the states of Madhya Pradesh (the districts of Bastar, Raipur, Durg, Raigarh, Bilaspur, Surguja, Bala-

ghat, Seoni, Chhindwara, Mandla, Narsinghapur, Betul, Hoshangabad, East Nimar, West Nimar and Dewas), Maharashtra (the districts of Buldana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandra and Chanda), Andhra Pradesh (the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam and Orissa (the district of Koraput).

The Kurukh language is spoken to the north, in Chhota Nagpur (about 1.1 million people), further to the north, in the Rajmahal hills one finds a closely related language Malto (about 90 thousand speakers).

Brahui (about 400 thousand speakers is used) in the districts of Kalat, Hairpur and Hyderabad in West Pakistan as well as in certain regions of Iran and Afghanistan. Brahui is composed of several dialects, the most important of which are Kalat, Sarawan and Jhalawan.

Genetic affiliations inside the Dravidian linguistic system have not yet been completely clarified. Different classifications of the Dravidian languages were put forward at different stages of their study. These included a division into the Dravida and Andhra groups followed by divisions into the southern and northern groups or southern, central and northern groups. The following scheme illustrates the modern conception of the relationships between the Dravidian languages:



As is shown in the table, the southern group includes the languages from Tamil to Kannada. Tulu and Telugu form two independent groups - the southwestern group and the southeastern one, respectively. Kolami, Naiki, Parji and

Gadaba belong to the central group, while Gondi, Konda, Kui and Kuvi form the Gondwana group. Two languages, Kurukh and Malto, are included into the northeastern group, and the northwestern group consists only of Brahui.[7]

Lexicostatistic studies [8] have shown that the disintegration of Proto-Dravidian began at the turn of the fourth millennium B.C. with the separation of Brahui. The formation of a separate Kurukh-Malto language became final sometime in the middle of the third millennium B.C. (the separation of Kurukh from Malto dates to the 6th century A.D.). The formation on the Gondwana group began in the middle of the second millennium B.C. and was followed (in the 15th-11th centuries B.C.) by the separation of the central group (Kolami and Parji became separate languages at the turn of the Christian era). Telugu broke off in the 11th-9th centuries B.C. and was followed by Tulu a few centuries later. The South Dravidian language proved very stable and disintegrated only at the beginning of A.D. when Kannada separated from Tamil. Malayalam emerged from a mediaeval Tamil dialect in the 10th-13th centuries A.D.

The linguistic study of the principal Dravidian languages began in the ancient India. Thus, "Tolhappiyam" (lit. "On Ancient Compositions"), the earliest of the Tamil grammars known to date, is believed to date from the 5th century A.D. This grammar, whose author (or authors) is known as Tolhappiyanar (lit. "The author of Tolhappiyam"), consists of three parts - "Ezhuttadiharam" ("The Chapter on Sounds"), "Solladiharam" ("The Chapter on the Word") and "Poruladiharam" ("The Chapter on /the literary/ Contents") and is composed in short verses (sutras) to be learned by heart (a total of 1600 sutras). Later, voluminous commentaries were added to this grammar, which explained separate

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7 According to the old classification, which is used occasionally in this book, the southern group includes the languages from Tamil to Telugu, the central group - those from Kolami to Kuvi, and the northern group - Kurukh, Malto and Brahui.

8 M.Andronov, "Lexicostatistic Analysis of the Chronology of Disintegration of Proto-Dravidian", IIJ, 7, 1963, pp. 170-186.

sutras, as well as supplemented them and provided examples. The most authoritative commentaries belong to Ilamburanar, Senavaraiyar and Naccinarkkiniyar.

"Tolhappiyam" was followed by other Tamil grammars, the most important being "Nannul" (lit. "On Good Books"), compiled around the 13th century by Pavanandi. "Nannul" and "Tolhappiyam" are the two most important treatises on Tamil grammar. Like "Tolhappiyam" and other ancient grammars, "Nannul" is composed in sutras (a total of 462); it consists of two parts - "Ezhuttadiharam" and "Solladiharam", covering phonetics and morphology.

The oldest grammar of Kannada "Karnataka bhashabhushana" (lit. "Decoration of the Language of the Kannada Country") by Nagavarma is written in the Sanskrit sutras. It appeared in the 12th century. "Shabdamanidarpana" (lit. "The Precious Mirror of Words") by Keshiraja appeared in the second half of the 13th century. It is the first grammar of Kannada written in this language. This treatise occupied a special place in the study of Kannada, as it much influenced the work of later scholars. "Shabdanushasana" (lit. "The Laws of the Word"), written in Sanskrit by Bhattakalanka Deva in 1604, is another important treatise on Kannada grammar.

The first Telugu grammar, known as "Shabdachintamani" (lit. "The Talisman of the Word"), was compiled as early as the 11th century by Nannaya Bhatta, the first known Telugu poet. For a long time this work remained the principal treatise on Telugu, new ones appearing only in the 19th century.

The first Malayalam grammar appeared in the 14th century. It was "Lilatilakam", a treatise in Sanskrit, which remained the only work of its kind until the 19th century, when A.R.Rajaraja Varma published his authoritative treatise "Keralapaniniyam" (lit. "The Panini Grammar for Kerala").

The first information about the Dravidian languages became available in Europe in the 16th century, when a Dutch traveller F.Baldeus included short notes on Tamil into his description of South India. The first Russian to

study Tamil was G.Lebedev, a well-known Indologist who devoted several years to this study during his stay in India in the 18th century. The first short grammars and manuals of the main Dravidian languages compiled by Christian missionaries appear about the same time (at first as manuscripts).

More systematic study of the Dravidian languages is undertaken since the nineteenth century, when fundamental works on several Dravidian languages began to appear: F.Kittel on Kannada, H.Gundert on Malayalam and C.Brown on Telugu (cf. Bibliography). The study and description of certain non-literate Dravidian languages began also at that time.

The first comparative grammar (mainly on the basis of literary languages) was issued by R.Caldwell as early as 1856 and had since three more editions. Such important Dravidologists as K.B.Subbaya and J.Bloch, who made extensive use of the materials from non-literate languages, also worked along these lines. A large factual material on many hitherto unknown Dravidian languages was collected by S.Konow and published by G.Grierson. The first etymological dictionary of the Dravidian languages was issued in 1961 by T.Burrow and M.B.Emeneau.

PHONETICS

S O U N D S

A characteristic feature of the Dravidian languages is proximity of their sound inventories.[9] Thus, the cosonantal system of a Dravidian language usually includes four or five pairs of stops (voiceless and voiced), a pair (or more seldom two pairs) of affricates, several fricatives, as well as the corresponding nasal sonants plus trilled, lateral and liquid sounds. The most characteristic feature of the Dravidian consonantism is retroflex sounds, in the

9 Sounds are understood here as sound types established at the level of allophones.

Table 1

Dravidian Consonants

	Articulation		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Noise	plo-sive	voiceless	p	t	t̲	ṭ		k	q	'
		voiced	b	d	d̲	ḍ		g	ḡ	
	affri-cative	voiceless		ć			c			
		voiced		ĵ			j			
	frica-tive	voiceless	f	e s	s̲	ṣ	ś	x	h	
		voiced	ß	ð z	z̲		ź	ġ*		
	trilled and flapped				r̲	ṛ				
Sonant	nasal		m	n	n̲	ṇ	ñ	ṅ		
	lateral				l ł	ḷ ḹ				
	trilled				r					
	liquid		v			ẓ*	y			

*In a few cases this may also have a noise (a sonant) allophone.

production of which the obstruction (passage) is effected by the under side of the tip of the tongue touching (or approaching) the hard palate. An overview of the Dravidian consonantism is given in Table 1.

The affricates ć and c differ by the character of their fricative elements - in the first case it is dental, while in the second it is palatal, i.e. ć = ts and c = tś the voiced affricates ǰ (= dz) and j (= dź), are distinguished similarly.

Manner of articulation distinguishes apical θ, ð from dorsal s, z and labiodental f from bilabial ß.

The presence of voice distinguishes voiced lateral sonants l, ḷ from the corresponding voiceless sonants ł, ḷ̥ which are peculiar to Toda (ł, ḷ̥)[10] and Brahui (ł).

The vocalism of the Dravidian languages is characterised by the opposition between the short (i, ü, e, ö, æ, ə, a, o, u) and long (ī, ǖ, ē, ȫ, ǣ, ā, ō, ū) vowels, as well as between the oral and nasalised vowels (ĩ, ĩ̄, ẽ, ẽ̄, ã̄, õ, ȭ, ã, ã̄, ũ, ũ̄). In certain cases vowels of retroflex timbre are distinguished (i̥, ī̥, e̥, ē̥); this appears mostly under the influence of the retroflex articulation of the following consonant. In some languages of the southern group the vowel u̇ is attested, whose articulation varies from a closed back (or central) vowel in some languages or dialects to a mid-open neutral central vowel in others. The long ū̇ is also attested.

The distribution of sounds according to the positions and their corresponding phonemic grouping are basically similar in all the Dravidian languages (where these phenomena are sufficiently studied), with the exception of Tamil.

In the latter the positional distribution of sounds is more complicated than in other languages. Thus, the following eight positions are relevant for consonant

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10 According to M.B.Emeneau, voiceless sonants m, n, ṇ, y as well as other sonant types are attested in Toda (cf. M.B.Emeneau, "Toda: A Dravidian Language", TPS, 1958). However, the character of these sounds as well as their identity are still obscure.

distribution in Old Tamil: after a pause, i.e. usually at the beginning of the word (p, t, k, s, m, n, ñ, y, v); in combination with a voiceless stop (p, t, ṯ, ṭ, k, c); after a nasal sonant (b, d, ḏ, ḍ, g, j, m, n, ṉ, ṇ, ñ, ṅ, y, v); after other sonants (ß, δ, s, x, m, n, ñ, y, v, l, ḷ); in an intervocal position (ß, δ, s, x, ṟ, ṛ, m, n, ṉ, ṇ, ñ, y, r, l, v, ẕ, ḷ); before the voiced stops (m, n, ṉ, ṇ, ñ, ṅ); before fricative obstruents (x, y, r, l, ẕ, ḷ), and, finally, before a pause, i.e. usually at the end of the word (m, ṉ, ṇ, ñ, y, r, l, v, ẕ, ḷ).

Among the vowels (cf. also Table 3), the retroflexed ḭ, ɪ̣, ẹ, ɛ̣ are attested only before the retroflexed consonants (i, ɪ, e, ɛ are not attested in this position), the furtive u̇ occurs (in the complementary distribution with u) at the end of the word after obstruents (with the exception of disyllables with the first open short syllable) and geminated sonants, whereas the furtive ĭ occurs only in a very limited number of cases (in the complementary distribution with i).

Phonemic grouping of sounds which are in complementary distribution yields a definite pattern of phonemes (cf. Table 2).

A complex character of the Tamil noise consonants presented considerable difficulties to linguists. R.Caldwell formulated the law of mutual transformation of the voiced and voiceless stops, in which an almost modern interpretation of this phenomenon was put forward.[11] Although the phonemic theory appeared later, the complementary distribution principle of the Tamil script enabled R.Caldwell to regard separate sounds as articulatory variants of one letter which is quite similar to the modern treatment of these sounds as allophones of one phoneme. R.Caldwell was the first to suggest that the positional and phonemic grouping of obstruents found in Tamil is common to all Dravidian languages, although for the majority this may

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11 R.Caldwell, "A Comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of languages", London, 1913, pp. 138-140.

Table 2

Phonemes of Old Tamil

Consonants

Articulation		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Noise		p	t	ṯ	ṭ	c	k
Sonorous	nasal	m	n	ṉ	ṇ	ñ	ṅ
	lateral			l	ḷ		
	flapped			r			
	liquid	v			ẓ	y	

Vowels

Articulation	Front	Central	Back
Close	ĭ		ŭ
Medium	ĕ		ŏ
Open		ă	

be established only as a trend obscured by later development.

R.Caldwell's treatment of this problem proved deficient in that he distinguished only two pronunciation variants of each letter - voiced and voiceless. Somehow, the fricative pronunciation of the intervocal consonants escaped his attention, as well as, in fact, that of most later students, although the analysis of sound transitions attests this fact even for the earliest period.

Many authors followed R.Caldwell's interpretation with certain insignificant modifications. Thus, K.V.Subbayya offered an explanation according to which the voiceless stop in the initial position reflects the original state, while the voiced consonants found in cognate languages appeared in this position later.[12]

J.Bloch [13] expressed an exactly opposite point of view. An analysis of several Dravidian (apparently Tamil) words from a mediaeval Sanskrit treatise "Trantravarttika" by Kumarila Bhatta (pāp 'snake', cf. Ta. pāmbu, atar 'road', cf. Ta. aśar, etc.) led J.Bloch to a conclusion that voiceless stops occurred in the intervocal position in Tamil at a certain period. According to J.Bloch, in Old Tamil (before 100 A.D.) the voiced stops occurred in the initial, medial and, possibly, final positions. Then the consonants became devoiced, which was followed by a period (2nd-12th centuries A.D.) when Tamil supposedly had no voiced noise consonants at all. Since 1200 A.D. the process of voicing the intervocal consonants has been taking place. The modern sound pattern of Tamil as well as positional grouping of sounds into phonemes are, thus, the result of a later development.

This interpretation was supported by F.Kuiper and S.K.Chatterji, who analysed the rendering of Tamil words in

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12 K.V.Subbayya, "A Primer of Dravidian Phonology", IA, vol. 38, 1909, p. 195.

13 J.Bloch, "Les consonnes intervocalique en tamoul", MSL, vol. 19, 1914; J.Bloch, "Sanskrit et dravidien", BSL, t. 15, 1924.

other languages and referred the devoicing of the voiced consonants in Tamil to 500 B.C. and 500 A.D. respectively.[14]

However, contradictory data from the ancient authors who phoneticised (as well as, apparently, phonemicised, or, more precisely, transliterated) borrowed Tamil words cannot serve as valid foundation for this theory, which postulates so frequent and radical changes in the sound and phonemic patterns of Tamil. The inadequacy of the arguments put forward by this theory becomes evident if Tamil proper names and toponyms are compared with their rendering in some modern languages: cf. tiṇḍukkal 'Dindigul' (Engl.), taraṅgambāṛi 'Tranquebar' (Engl., Fr.), suppeyyā 'Subbiah' (Engl.), etc.[15]

The initial consonants could be voiced in some cases under the influence of the sandhi in connected speech, which led to the elimination of the pause before this consonant. Similarly, the devoicing of the intervocal consonants and their transition into plosives could be the result of syllabification - a natural attempt to help a foreigner to record Tamil words which are usually multisyllabic.[16] Finally, the ancient authors could simply render the spelling of Tamil words, or relate second-hand information.

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14 F.Kuiper, "Zur Chronologie des Stimmtonverlusts in dravidischen Anlaut", BSO(A)S, vol. 9, 1938; S.K.Chatterji ,"Old Tamil, Ancient Tamil and Primitive Dravidian", IL, vol. 14, 1954.

15 A.Subbiah, "Voiced and Voiceless Stops in Tamil", TC, vol. 5, 1956, p. 195. In his later publication F.Kuiper opposed "...the current view that the voiceless plosives of (one of) the Jaffna dialects represent an antique feature of the pre-Sangam period..." (F.B.J.Kuiper, "Note on Old Tamil and Jaffna Tamil", IIJ, vol. 6, No. 1, 1962, pp. 59-60).

16 One of my Tamil teachers devoiced intervocal voiced consonants when he wanted to make his speech more intelligible, thus, instead of the usual iṅu 'this' he pronounced iou, and even i-tu when I asked him to explicitly the word. A similar situation could lead to the appearance of the voiceless intervocal plosives in the materials from the ancient authors.

T.Burrow realised that linguistic analysis would be much more effective than philological studies in solving this argument. He succeeded in proving that "... the existence of the initial sonants in Telugu and Kanarese is secondary and cannot be attributed to parent language".[17] That this is so is supported by the following facts: (a) a very large percentage of the words in Kannada and Telugu beginning with voiced plosives have nothing corresponding to them in Tamil at all; (b) of the correspondences pointed out a considerable number are merely late loan-words in Tamil from Kannada and Telugu; (c) where the correspondences are not loan-words, there is considerable fluctuation between Kannada and Telugu forms which may sometimes have a voiceless variant as against the expected voiced; (d) in the case of individual words it can be demonstrated that voicing in Kannada and Telugu is secondary. This analysis led T.Burrow to the conclusion that "Tamil alone among the Dravidian languages represents the state of affairs in the parent language in this matter".[18]

Similar facts point to the primary character of the Tamil intervocal fricatives. Thus, the ancient texts include such parallel variants as aḷaßů/aḷavu 'size' or pāßam/pāvam 'sin', which support an assertion that the intervocal consonants were fricative as early as the 8th century A.D.[19] Numerous cases of the loss of the intervocal -x- in Manikkavasahar's "Tiruvasaham" show that the state of affairs was similar in the language of the 9th century, cf. āyi 'having become' from āxi, āṅgāram 'pride' from axaṅgāram, etc.

On the other hand, evidence provided by Tamil geographical names mentioned in the ancient Greek and Roman sources ("The Periplous of the Erythrean Sea", 1st century A.D., "Natural History" by Pliny the Elder, 1st century A.D., "Geography" by Ptolemy, 2nd century A.D., "Christian

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17 T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies I", BSO(A)S, vol.9, 1938, p. 711.
18 Ibid., pp. 711-712, 722.
19 A.Master, "Intervocalic Plosives in Early Tamil", ibid., pp. 1005-1006.

Topography" by Cosmas Indicopleustes, 6th century A.D.) suggests that the intervocal consonants of that period did not differ from those of today (cf. Greek Kolchoi from Ta. kolxey 'Kolkhay', kory from Ta. kōṛi 'promontory', podo-peroura from Ta. puδuppērūr 'new big city', Modoura from Ta. maδuraey 'Madurai'). Thus, there is no reason to believe that at any time in the history of Tamil there has been a period when noise consonants as a whole differed from their modern counterparts either in respect to the character of the sounds or positions in which they could occur.

In Modern Tamil alveolar sounds (and phonemes) as well as the liquid retroflex sonant ẓ do not exist. The velar nasal ṅ survived as a sound but lost its separate phonemic status and is now an allophone of the phoneme n.

Loan-words introduced the phoneme ś into Tamil which has two allophones - the retroflex sibilant /ṣ/ (before ṭ and ṇ) and the palatal sibilant /ś/ (in other cases). At the same time the influx of loan-words from New Indo-Aryan and modern West European languages has somewhat blurred the original pattern of positional sound distribution, as voiced stops came to be current in the initial and other untypical positions (a special sub-system of low-frequency phonemes b, d, ḍ, j, g may be formulated for such cases).[20] However, the most important feature distinguishing Old Tamil from the modern language is the growth of vocalism: the appearance of the nasal vowels ã̄ , ẽ , ẽ̄ , õ , ȭ , ũ , as well as the oral vowels ɛ , ɛ̄ , ɔ̄ (in dialects also æ , ǣ , ə , ə̄).

In Malayalam [21] the voiced plosives b, d, ḍ, j, g function as independent phonemes. It distinguishes the latter from Tamil phonemically.

All other Dravidian languages also have voiced plosive phonemes, but, on the other hand, apart from Toda, they do not have alveolar phonemes and the liquid retroflex ẓ

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20 G.Fairbanks, "Frequency and phonemics", IL, 17, 1957.
21 Only literary Malayalam is examined here, as its colloquial from (as well as dialects) have not yet been sufficiently studied.

(except Toda, ṛ and ẓ are attested only in Old Kannada and Old Telugu).

Kannada does not have the alveolar ṯ, ḏ, ṉ or the fricative β, δ, x, nor u̇, ĭ or (the retroflex vowels. It, however, includes the pharyngeal h, the front /æ/ - the allophone of a after the affricates and s (cæṇṇu 'beauty', særi 'good') - as well as the dental affricates ć and ĵ which are allophones of c, j (in certain positions before the back and central vowels: ćućć-u- 'to pierce', ĵōṛi 'pair'). The latter phenomenon is characteristic of the northern and northeastern dialects of the language in the districts of Dharwar, Bijapur, Belgaum and Gulbarga.

The present state of knowledge of Old Telugu favours the conclusion that phonetically it did not differ from Old Kannada (cf. also Table 3). At present this difference is likewise negligible: the front open ǣ is long in Telugu as against the corresponding short sound in Modern Kannada, the affricates c, j and ć, ĵ are distinguished in Telugu not only in the dialects, but in the literary language as well.

The sound composition and phonemic patterns of Kota, Kodagu and Tulu, minor languages of the Southern group are almost similar to those of Modern Kannada. The differences are most maked in Kota, which includes the alveolar ṯ, ḏ, ṉ, as well as z and ṛ (in Kannada, Kodagu and Tulu this is an allophone of ḍ in the intervocalic position). Kodagu and Tulu also have the furtive /u̇/, which brings them closer to Tamil, whereas Kodagu has the labialised ŏ apart from evrything else.

Phonetically Toda is the most eccentric of all the Dravidian languages. Apart from the plosives p, b, t, d, ṯ, ḏ, ṭ, ḍ, affricates c, j, ć, ĵ, fricatives f, e, x, ġ, s, z, s̱, ẕ, ś, ź, ṣ, ẓ, rolled and single-stroke ṟ and ṛ and sonants m, n, ṉ, ṇ, ñ, ṅ, l, ḷ, ẓ, y, r there are special voiceless sonants ɬ, ɬ̣ as well as the voiceless allophones of ṟ, ṛ, m, n, ṇ, y. The Toda vocalism apart from the usual ă, ĭ, ŭ, ĕ, ŏ includes u̇, ŭ as well as the labialised ŏ̆ and ŭ̆ not attested in other Dravidian

languages.[22]

The phonetics of the Parji-Kolami subgroup (Kolami, Naiki, Parji and Gadaba) as well as Konda is known better than that of other languages in the central group. Each of the above-mentioned languages has ten vowels (ă, ĭ, ŭ, ĕ, ŏ), four pairs of plosives (labials, dentals, cerebrals and velars) and two affricates (except Konda) plus the corresponding nasal sonants, the obstruent ṛ, s and h and sonants y, r, l, v. Apart from that Kolami and Naiki have ś ; Naiki, ḷ; and Konda (which does not have c), ć, z, ', and ṛ (voiced and voiceless). Phonetically Gondi does not differ significantly from Parji; the exceptions are the alveolar ṛ, velar x, ġ, laryngeal ', and the affricates ć and ǰ, which are distributed positionally similarly to Telugu and attested in several dialects.

Kui and Kuvi differ from other languages of the central group by the presence of the laryngeal ' in both languages and the absence of c in the former and ṛ in some dialects of the latter. Apart from that both languages are characterised by the presence of the short nasalised õ, ẽ, ĩ.

Phonemic differences among the languages of the central group are insignificant and refer to nasal sonants only (ṇ is an independent phoneme in Konda, Kui and Kuvi, and is an allophone of n in Parji, Gadaba, Kolami, Naiki and Gondi; ñ is an independent phoneme in Parji, Gadaba and Konda, and is an allophone of n in Kolami, Naiki, Gondi, Kui and Kuvi; ń is a separate phoneme in Parji, Gadaba, Konda, Kui and Kuvi, and is an allophone of n in Kolami, Naiki and Gondi).

The languages of the northeastern group - Kurukh and Malto - apart from the pharyngeal h in both, have the

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22 The data are taken from M.B.Emeneau, "Toda: a Dravidian Language", TPS, 1958. After three years of field work on Toda M.B.Emeneau writes: "On the descriptive side I shall have to confine myself chiefly to phonological matters... The complicated allophony cannot be described here in detail". In this connection the author must stress the preliminary nature of the Toda facts cited here.

velar x and the laryngeal ' (in Kurukh) and the pharyngeal q and ġ (in Malto). In other respects Kurukh differs from such languages of the central group as Kolami and Naiki by the presence of ten nasalised vowels (five short and five long) and f (the allophone of p in loan-words); Malto has the dental fricative δ and does not include the palatal sibilant ś .

The only language comprising the northwestern group - Brahui - is similar to Kurukh in that it has nasalised vowels and the glottal stop ' , it does not, however, have the pharyngeal h . Brahui also has the phonemes f, z, ź and ǵ as well as the voiceless sonant ł (allophone of the voiced l).

A general overview of the sound composition and phonemic pattern of separate Dravidian languages is presented in Table 3.

PHONETIC PROCESSES

The common Dravidian regularities of sound combination and the related phonetic processes, which preclude any violation of these rules, may be traced in all Dravidian languages. True, these ancient regularities in modern Dravidian languages are, as a rule, obscured by later developments of sounds and appear only as trends, however, in Old Tamil they were clear-cut. In the most general form these regularities may be summarised as a tendency to specify sounds which could occur in each of the three principal positions in the word: the initial sounds were limited to the vowels, voiceless noise consonants (except retroflexed and alveolars) and the sonants m, n, ñ, y, v ; the final sounds could include only the vowels and sonants, while consonant clusters within the word were limited to geminates, combinations of nasal sonants with voiced plosives and those of other sonants with the fricatives; vowel groups were avoided. This was reflected in common alternations of the voiceless plosives with the voiced plosives as well as with fricatives; consonants were frequently assimilated (usually according to place and voice), numerous

Sounds and Phonemes in Dravidian Languages

Table 3

Dr.	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	OKa.	MKa.	Kod.	Tu.	OTe.	MTe.	Kol.	NK.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
b	/b/	/b/	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
f					f															/f/		f
β	/β/	/β/	/β/																			
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
d	/d/	/d/	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
●					●																	
δ	/δ/	/δ/	/δ/																			
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
ṯ	ṯ		ṯ	ṯ	ṯ																	
ḏ	/ḏ/		/ḏ/	ḏ	ḏ																	
ṛ	/ṛ/		/ṛ/		ṛ	ṛ				ṛ						ṛ	ṛ					
ṣ					ṣ																	
ẓ					ẓ																	
ṇ	ṇ		/ṇ/	ṇ	ṇ																	
ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
ḍ	/ḍ/	/ḍ/	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ
ṛ	/ṛ/	/ṛ/	/ṛ/	ṛ	ṛ	/ṛ/	/ṛ/	/ṛ/	/ṛ/	/ṛ/	/ṛ/	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	/ṛ/	ṛ	ṛ
ṣ		/ṣ/	/ṣ/	ṣ	ṣ		/ṣ/	/ṣ/	/ṣ/		/ṣ/											

ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	/ṇ/	/ṇ/	/ṇ/	/ṇ/	/ṇ/	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	/ṇ/	/ṇ/	ṇ
c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c			c	c	c	c
j	/j/	/j/	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j
ć					ć		/ć/				/ć/					/ć/	ć					
ǰ					ǰ		/ǰ/				/ǰ/					/ǰ/						
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s		s	s	s
z				z	z												z					z
ś		ś	ś		ś		ś	ś	ś		ś	ś	ś							/ś/		ś
ź					ź																	ź
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	/ñ/	/ñ/	ñ	ñ	/ñ/	ñ	/ñ/	/ñ/	/ñ/	/ñ/	/ñ/
k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
ɡ	/ɡ/	/ɡ/	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ	ɡ
x	/x/	/x/	/x/		x											x				x		x
ġ		/ġ/	/ġ/		ġ											ġ						ġ
ṅ	ṅ	/ṅ/	ṅ	ṅ	ṅ	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	/ṅ/	ṅ	ṅ	/ṅ/	ṅ	ṅ	ṅ	ṅ	ṅ	/ṅ/
q																					q	
ʂ																					ʂ	
h			h	h		h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h		h	h	h	h	h	h	
ʼ																ʼ	ʼ	ʼ	ʼ	ʼ		ʼ
y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
ȴ					ȴ																	/ȴ/
v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v

Table 3 (continued)

Sounds and Phonemes in Dravidian Languages

Dr.	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	O.Te.	M.Te.	Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
ṣ	ṣ		ṣ		ṣ	ṣ				ṣ												
ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ		ḷ									
ḻ					ḻ																	
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē
i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī
ĭ	/ĭ/	/ĭ/																				
i̯	/i̯/		/i̯/																			
ṛ	/ṛ/		/ṛ/																			
u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū
u̯	/u̯/	u̯	/u̯/		u̯		u̯			/u̯/	/u̯/											
ū̯		ū̯			ū̯																	
ṟ					ṟ																	
ṟ̄					ṟ̄																	

sounds and syllables were attested in word composition and suffixal word- and form-building (y, v, u, n̲, tt, in̲, an̲, etc.); these could also involve vowel elision. Thus, in Old Tamil: koḷxalam 'receptacle', 'reservoir' (from koḷ- 'to take' and kalam 'vessel'), maraṅgaḷ 'trees' (from maram 'tree' and -kaḷ, the plural suffix), peṇbiḷḷey 'girl' (from peṇ 'woman' and piḷḷey 'child'), pottaxarû 'golden plate' (from pon̲ 'gold' and taxarû 'plate'), nāṟōṟum 'every day' (from nāḷ 'day' and tōṟum 'every'), pūvarasû 'rhododendron' (from pū 'flower' and arasû king'), aôenna 'what is that' (from aôu 'that' and enna 'what'), etc.

Cf. also tūlu guḍu 'edged wall' (kuḍu 'wall') in Kui, ēṇboe 'ninety', ûfoe 'twenty' (pot 'ten') in Toda, may gel 'grindstone' (kel 'stone') in Parji, bikal-āva 'to grow sad' (from bikali āva) in Kui, mēsināvu 'grazing cow' (from mēsina āvu) in Telugu, lāveñju 'young man'(from lā eñju) in Kui, ammanākuḷu 'mistress' (from amma 'woman' and -ākuḷu, the plural suffix), muṅgay 'hand', 'palm' (from mun- 'front' and kay 'hand') in Tulu, etc.

Frequent deviations from ancient regularities in modern Dravidian languages are mainly accounted for by such phonetic processes as spontaneous voicing of the surds, dropping of vowels or consonants (aphaeresis, syncope, apocope), metathesis or sound alternation.

Voicing of the initial voiceless consonants is frequent in many languages. Cf. pām 'snake' in Kolami and Naiki : bām in Parji and Gadaba, paraṇi 'a little box' in Tamil and Malayalam : baraṇi in Kannada, Kodagu and Tulu, palli 'lizard' in Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu and Tulu : balli in Telugu, tirutt- 'to correct' in Tamil : didd- in Kannada, sūmb- 'to suck' in Tamil : jūmb- in Kui, jūp- in Kuvi, key-, gey- 'to do' in Kannada, etc. The reasons of the voicing are not yet clear. In some cases it may be related to the occurrence of voiced geminates inside the word as a result of assimilation, as in the Telugu bebbuli 'big tiger' (from per- 'big' and puli 'tiger', where rp > > rb > bb) or in the Kannada didd- 'to correct' (from

cases of substitution as well as use of various euphonic tidd- <tird-).[23]

In the languages of the southern group irregular dropping of the initial consonant (especially c-/s-) is quite frequent, e.g. il- 'to be unavailable' in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Kannada and Kodagu, lō- in Telugu : cil- in Parji and Malto, sil- in Gondi and Konda, hil- in Gondi and Kuvi, siḍ- in Kui.[24] Cf. also kuley- : uley- 'to unfasten', kōṇay : ōṇay 'wolf', kulakk- : ulakk- 'to shake', kuśapp- : uśapp- 'to chew', tambi : ambi 'younger brother', tārāṭṭ- : ārāṭṭ- 'to lull', taṟey- : aṟey- 'to beat', tāy : āy 'mother', pular- : ular- 'to wither', malar : alar 'flower', maṟakk- 'to bend' : aṟakk- 'to subdue', maṟaṅg- 'to bend' : aṟaṅg- 'to become subdued' in Tamil.

Loss of the root vowel (syncope) is widely spread in all Dravidian languages; it is especially regular in Tulu, Telugu, Kui and Kuvi. E.g. Ta. maraṉ 'tree' - Te. mrānu, Ta. varey- 'to write' - Te. vrāy-, Ta. var- 'to come' - Te. vaćć- (from vraćć-), Ta. aḷaśū 'measure' - Ta. lappū, Ta. piḷ- 'to split' - Kui pli- .[25]

The palatalisation k- > c-/s- before i, ē is a characteristic feature of Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu; the palatalisation -tt- > -cc- after i, ē, y is attested in many languages. E.g. kev 'ear' in Kolami and Naiki : sevi in Tamil, cevi in Malayalam and Telugu or vittū : viccū 'seed' in Tamil.[26]

A typical feature of the vocalic systems in the southern group is the omission of y- in the initial yā-;

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23 T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies I", BSO(A)S, 9, 1938, p.720.

24 T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies IV", BSO(A)S, 12, 1947. About *c->t- in Toda cf. M.B.Emeneau, "Proto-Dravidian *c- : Toda t-", BSO(A)S, 15, 1953; about some cases of *c->k- in Brahui cf. M.B.Emeneau, "North Dravidian Velar Stops", Dravidian and Indian Linguistics, Berkeley, 1962, pp.120-141.

25 A.Master, "Indo-Aryan and Dravidian III", BSO(A)S, 12, 1948.

26 For more detail cf. T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies III", BSO(A)S, 11, 1943, also L.V.Ramaswami Aiyar, "Ancient Dravidian *k- and Its Modern Derivatives", ERM, 32, 1931, A.F.Thyagaraju, "Palatalisation in the Dravidian Languages", IA, 61, 1932.

in the central and northern groups and in Telugu yā- > ā-. E.g. O.Ta. yāṉey 'elephant', M.Ta. āṉai, Ma. āna, Ko. ān, To. ān, Ka. āne, Kod. āne, Tu. āne, Te. ānika, Kol. āṅgi, Pa. ānu, Ga. ānig, Go. ānī, Kon. āni.[27]

In the literary dialect of Classical Tamil and Malayalam the root vowels e and o usually change into i and u respectively before suffixal syllables with -a-. E.g. O.Ta. uṟal 'body', M.Ta. oṟalū, O.Ma. uṟal, M.Ma. oṟalū, Ka. oṟalu, Tu. oṟalu, Te. oṟalu ; O.Ta. iley 'leaf', M.Ta. ɛlɛ, O.Ma. ila, M.Ma. ela, Ka. ele, Tu. ele .[28]

A similar development of the root vowels e, o is attested in Kannada (sometimes in Modern Tamil) before suffixal syllables with close vowels; cf. Ta. eli 'rat' : Ka. ili, Ta. sevi 'ear' : Ka. kibi, Ta. poṟi 'powder' : Ka. puṟi, Ta. koṟi 'plant' : Ka. kuṟi, O.Ta. koṟu 'give!' : M.Ta. kuṟū, O.Ta. oδukka 'to put aside' : M.Ta. uδukɛ .[29]

PRINCIPAL SOUND CORRESPONDENCES[30]

/p-/: O.Ta. puṯu 'worm', M.Ta. puḷū, Ma. puṯu, Ko. pū, To. puf, O.Ka. puṯu, M.Ka. huḷu, Kod. puḷu, Tu. puri, O.Te. puruvu, M.Te. pruvvu, Kol. purre, Nk. purre, Pa. puṟut, Ga. puḍut, Go. puṟī, Kon. piṟi, Kui piṟu, Ku. prīyūli, Kur. pocgō, Mal. pocru, Br. pū.

/-pp-/: O.Ta. appaṉ 'father', M.Ta. apā, Ma. appan, O.Ka. appa, M.Ka. appa, apa, aha, Kod. appö, Tu. appa, Te. appa, Go. āpōṟāl; Ta. sīpp-, sūpp- 'to suck', Ko. cīp-, Ka. cīp-, Te. cīp-, Ga. cupk-, Kui jūp-, Kur. cīp-, Mal. cīp-, Br. cūp-.

/-mb-/: Ta. ambū 'arrow', Ma. ambū, Ko. amb, am, To. ob, Ka. ambu, Kod. ambū, Tu. ambu, Te. ambu, ammu, Pa.amb,

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27 T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies V", BSO(A)S, 11, 1948.
28 T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies II", BSO(A)S, 10, 1940; B.Krishnamurti, "Alternations i/e and u/o in South Dravidian", Lg, 34, 1958.
29 T.N.Sreekantaiya, "The Mutation of i, e, u, and o in Kannada", OC, Mysore, 1935; M.Andronov, "Razgovorny tamil'sky yazyk i ego dialekty", Moscow, 1962, pp.10-11.
30 Cf. also Table 4.

Ga. ambū Kon. am, Kui ambu, Ku. ambū.

/-n-/: O.Ta. tān 'self', M.Ta. tā, Ma. tān, Ko. tān, To. tōn, O.Ka. tān, M.Ka. tānu, Kod. tānū, Tu. tānū, Te. tānu, Pa. tān, Ga. tān, Go. tanā, Kui tānu, Ku. tānū, Kur. tān, Mal. tān, Br. tōn.

/-tt-/: Ta. vittū, viccū 'seed', Ma. vittū, Ko. vit, To. pūt, Ka. bittu, Kod. bittū, Tu. bittū, Te. vittu, Kol. vitanam, Nk. vitanam, Pa. vittid, Ga. vīti, Go. vijjā, Kon. vit- 'to sow', Ku. bitja 'seed', Mal. bīci.

/-ṅ-/: Ta. piṅuṅg- 'to project', Ma. piṅuṅṅ-, To. pūex-, Ka. hiduk-, Te. piduk-, Kol. pidk-, Go. pidūk-, 'to strain (oneself)', Kur. pedex- 'to squeeze', Mal. peṅg- 'to break'.

/-nd-/: Ta. sīnd- 'to blow one's nose', 'to sneeze', Ma. cīnd-, Ka. sīnd-, Te. sīd-, Pa. tīd-, Ga. sīnd- Kui srīnda-, Ku. sindali-, Kur. cīcr-.

/-ṭṭ-/: O.Ta. paṭṭ- 'to snatch', M.Ta. pat- Ma. paṭṭ-, Ko. paṭ-, To. paṭ-, Ka. paṭṭ-, patt-, 'to strike', Kod. patt-, Tu. patt-, 'to snatch', Te. paṭṭ-, Pa. pat-, Ga. pat(t)-, Mal. paty-.

/-r-/: O.Ta. ār- 'to cool', M.Ta. ār-, Ma. ār-, Ko. ār-, To. ōr-, O.Ka. ār-, M.Ka. ār-, Tu. ār-, O.Te. ār-, M.Te. ār-, Kol. ār- 'to dry', Nk. ār-, Pa. ād-, āḍ- 'to cool', Ga. āl-, Go. ār-, Kui āj-, Kur. arta'ā- 'to dry'.

/-nd-/: O.Ta. tōnd- 'to appear', 'to be seen', M.Ta. tōṇ-, tōṇḍ-, Ma. tōnn-, Ko. tōr-, To. tṅūḍ, tṅūi-, O.Ka. tōr-, M.Ka. tōr-, Tu. tōj-, Te. tōć-, Pa. tōnd-, Ga. tōṇḍ-, Kui tōñj-, Ku. toñj-.

/-ṭṭ-/: Ta. koṭṭ- 'to strike', Ma. koṭṭ-, Ko. koṭk-, To. kṅūṭk-, Kod. koṭṭ-, Te. koṭṭ-, Pa. koṭṭ-, Ga. koṭ-, Kur. xoṭṭ-, Mal. qoṭ-.

/-ṛ-/: Ta. paṛ-, 'to sink', 'to fall', 'to perish', Ma. peṛ-, Ko. paṛ-, To. poṛ-, Ka. paṛ-, Kod. paṛ-, Te. paṛ-, Kol. par-, Nk. paṛ-, Pa. paḍ-, Ga. par-.

/-ṇḍ-/: Ta. ñaṇḍū 'crab', Ma. ñaṇḍū, Ka. endrakāyi, Kod. ñandū, Tu. deñji, Te. eṇḍri, Kol. eṇḍe, ende, Nk. eṇḍe, Pa. iṛdi, Ga. irid, Go. yantī.

/c-/: O.Ta. ayndū 'five', M.Ta. añjū, Ma. añjū, Ko. añj, To. ūj, Ka. aydu, Kod. añjū, Tu. aynū, Te. ayidu, Kol

Table 4

Main Phonetic Correspondences in Dravidian Languages

Pr.Dr.	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	O.Te.	M.Te.	Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
*a	a	a ɛ æ	a	a	o a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	e a o	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
*ā	ā	ā ǣ	ā	ā	ō ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ē ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā
*i	i	i ɛ u̇	i	i	u̇ i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
*ɪ	ɪ	ɪ ū	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ		ɪ	ɪ	ɪ
*u	u	u u̇	u	u	ġu̇ u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
*ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū
*e	e i	e ə	e i	e	ö e	e	e i	e	e	e	e	e	e	e a	e	a e	e	e	e	e	e	a i
*ē	ē	ē ɛ̄ ə̄	ē	ē	ō ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē ā	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē	ē
*o	o	o	o	o	ġa	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ō

	u	u	u		ġu o u		u															u a
*ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ġa ġu u	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð	ð
*k-	k s	k s	k c	k	k	k	k	k	k	k c	k c	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	x k	q k	x k
*-kk-	kk	kk k	kk	k	k	kk k	kk k	kk k	kk k	kk k	kk k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	kkh kk	q k	kk k
*-x-	x	x ġ	x ġ	g	x	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g v y	g	y	g	y	x	x	ç	x
*-ṅg-	ṅg	ṅg	ṅṅ	ṅg g	g x	ṅg g	ṅg g	ṅg	ṅg	ṅg	ṅg	ṅg	ṅg	ṅg	ṅg	ṅg ṅ	ṅ	ṅg	ṅg	ṅx ṅg	ṅq ṅç	ṅg
*-ṅkk-	kk	kk k	kk	ṅk k	k	ṅk k	ṅk k	k	ṅk k	ṅk k	ṅk k	ṅk k	ṅk k	k	k	k	k	k	kh k	ṅkh ṅk x kk kh	ṅq ṅk	ṅk
*c-	s ø	s ø	c ø	c ø	t ø	c s ø	c ø s	c ø	s ø	c ø	c ć ø	s	s	c	s	s h ø	s	s h	h	c	c	c k
*-cc-	cc	cc	cc	cc	ć	cc	cc	cc	cc	cc	cc	cc	cc	cc	cc	cc	s	s	cc	cc	c	s

Main Phonetic Correspondences in Dravidian Languages

Pr.Dr.	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	O.Te.	M.Te.	Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
		c				s	s			c	c	c			s	s		se c cc	c	c		
*-c-		s	ś j c	c	s	s	s	j	j	c s	c s	s	s	y	y	s		s h	h	s	s	s
*-ñj-	ñj	ñj	ññ	ñj	j	ñj j s	ñj j s	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj ñ	ñj ñ	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj	ñj
*-ñc-	cc	cc c	cc	ñc c	c	ñc c s	ñc c s	c	ñc c	ñc	ñc	ñs	s		c	ñc		s	c	c	c	ñc
*-ñ-	ñ	ñ n	ñ n	n	n	n	n	n	ñ n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
*-tt-	tt	tt t	tt	t	t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	t	tt t	t	tt t	t	t	tt	tt t	t	t
*-r-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	d	r	d	r	r r	r	r j g	d r y	r	r	r r rr

																	ḍ r	r t			ḍ
*-nd-	nd	nd	nd	nd d	d	nd d	nd d	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd nd	nd	nd	nd
*-ntt-	tt	tt t	tt	nt t	t	nt t	nt t	nt t	nt t	nt t	nt t	nt t	nt t	nt t	nt	nt t		t	nt t	t	
*-tt-	tt	tt t	tt	t	t	tt	tt t	tt t	t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	tt t	rh	s	c cc	tt t	t
*-r-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	d r	r	r	d r	d r	d d	y	r r	r rh	j r s g	y ' d s r h	s r	s r	r rr ø
*-nd-	nd	ndr nn nd mm	nn	nd d	d	r nd	r nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd nd	nd	nd	nr ndr	ñj	ñj	nd	nd	s
*-ntt-	tt	tt tt t	tt	nt t	t t	nt t	nt t	t	nt t	t t	t t	t	t	t	t	c			th	t	t	
*t-	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
*-δ-	δ	δ	δ	d	●	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d dd	d	d	d	d th	δ d	d
*-tt-	tt	t(t)	tt	t	t	tt	t(t)	t(t)	t(t)	t(t)	t(t)	t	t(t)	t(t)	t	tt	t	t(t)	t(t)	t(t)	t	t(t)

Table 4 (continued)

Main Phonetic Correspondences in Dravidian Languages

Pr.Dr.	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	O.Te.	M.Te.	Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
*-nd-	nd	nd	nn	nd d	d e	nd	nd d	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd d	nd d	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
*-ntt-	tt cc	tt cc t c	tt cc	t c	c	nt t c s	nt t c s	t	nt t ñc	nt t ñc c	nt t ñc c	nt t s	t	t c	nt	t		t		t	t	
*p-	p	p	p	p	p	p	h ø	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
*-pp-	pp	pp p	pp	p	p	pp	pp p h ø	pp p	pp p	pp	pp p	p	pp p	pp p	p	p	p	pp p	pp p	pp p	p	p
*-mb-	mb	mb	mb	mb b	b	mb	mb v	mb	mb	mb mm	mb mm m	m	m	mb b	mb b	m	m	mb	mb m	mb	mb	mb
*-mpp-	pp	pp p	pp	p	p f	mp p	mp p	p	mp p	mp p	mp p	mp p	p	p	p		p	p	p	mp p		
*m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n

*n̲	n̲	n	n̲	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
			n																		
*ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	ṇ	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	ṇ	n	n	n	n
									n						ṇ			ṇ			
*y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	
*r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
					ś											ṛ					rr
					ṣ																ø
*l	l	l	l	l	ḷ	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
					ḹ												ḍ				ḷ
*ll	ll	ll	ll	l	s̲	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	l	l	ll		l	ll
					l							l		l		l	ḍ				
*v–	v	v	v	v	p	b	b	b	b	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	b	b	b
*–v–	v	v	v	v	f	v	v	v	b	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	b	v	f
									v												
*ẓ	ẓ	ḷ	ẓ	ḷ	ḍ	ẕ	ḷ	ḷ	r	ẓ	ḍ	r	r	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ	r	s	s	r
		y	ḷ	ṛ	ṛ		r	ø	ḷ		r				ḍ	r			l			rr
			y	y	ś																	ṛ
				g	ṣ																	ḍ
					v																	ø
*ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	ḷ	l	l	l	l	l	l	ṛ	ṛ	l	l	l	l	l
					ḹ				l									ḍ	ṛ			ḷ
*ḹ	ḹ	ḹ	ḹ	ḷ	ḷ	ḹ	ḹ	ḹ	ḹ	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll	ll				ll	l	ll
					ḹ											l						

ayd, Pa. cem, Go. sayyuṅ, hayyuṅ, yeīṅ, Kui siṅgi.

Cf. also Ta. sīpp-, sūpp-, etc. under /-pp-/.

/-cc-/: Ta. kacc- 'to bite', To. koć-, Ka. kacc-, Tu. kacc-, Kol. kacc-, Pa. kacc-, Ga. kacc-, kas-, Go. kaskā-, kacī-, Kui kas-, Ku. kacali-, Kur. xass- 'to upset', Mal. qasv- 'to bite'.

/-s-/: Ta. kasaṟū 'refuse', 'dirt', To. kosf, Ka. kasa, Tu. kajavu, Te. kasavu, Kur. kassā, Mal. kase.

/-ñj-/: Ta. añju 'fear', Ma. añjal, Ko. añjalk, To. oj̊k, Ka. añjike, Tu. añjike, Te. añjika, Kui aja, Ku. ajji, Br. 'Ijiṅg 'confusion'.

/k-/: Ta. kaṇ(ṇū) 'eye', Ma. kaṇ(ṇū), Ko. kaṇ, To. koṇ, Ka. kaṇ, Kod. kaṇṇū, Tu. kaṇṇū, Te. kan(n)u, Kol. kan, Nk. kan, Pam kan, Ga. kaṇ, Go. kan, Kon. kaṇ, Kui kanu, Ku. kannū, Kur. xann, Mal. qanu, Br. xan; Ta. sevi 'ear', Ma. cevi, Ko. kev, To. kūfy, Ka. kivi, Kod. kevin, Tu. kebi, Te. cevi, Kol. kev, Nk. kev, Pa. kekol, Ga. kekol, Go. kavī, Kui kiru, Ku. kiriyu, Kur. xebdā, Mal. qeóvu, Br. xaf.

/-kk-/: Ta. mūkkū 'nose', Ma. mūkkū, Ko. mūk, To. mūk, Ka. mūgu, Kod. mūkū, Tu. mūku, mugu, Te. mukku, Kol. mukk.

/-x-/: Ta. uxir 'finger-nail', Ma. uxir, Ko. ūr, To. ūr, Ka ugur, Kod. oy, Tu. uguru, Te. gōru, Kor. gōr, Nk. gōr, Pa. gēri, Ga. gēre, Kon. gōru, Kui gōra, Ku. gōru, Kur. oṛox, Mal. orgu, Br. 'ōr.

/-ṅg-/: Ta. tūṅg- 'to hang', 'to sway', Ma. tūṅṅ-, Ko. tūg-, To. tūx-, Ka. tūg-, tūṅk-, Kod. tūṅg-, Tu. tūṅg-, tūṅk-, Te. tūg, Kon. dūṅ-, Kui. drūṅg-, Ku. tūṅg-, Kur. tuṅgul 'dream', Mal. tumgle, Br. tuġ-.

/v-/: Ta. vār- 'to come', Ma. var-, Ko. vār-, To. pōr-, Ka. bar-, Kod. bar-, Tu. barp-, Te. vaćć-, Kol. var-, Nk. var-, Pa. ver-, Ga var-, Go. vayā-, Kon. vā-, Kui vā-, Ku. vā'-, Kur. bar-, Mal. bar-, Br. bar-.

/ẓ/: O.Ta. maẓey 'rain', M.Ta. maḷai, Dial.Ta. mayai, O.Ma. maẓa, M.Ma. maḷa, Dial.Ma. maya, Ko. may, To. mav, maṣ, O.Ka. maẓe, M.Ka. maḷe, Kod. maḷe, Tu. maḷe.

MORPHOLOGY

Suffixal agglutination is the dominant pattern among the Dravidian languages. Elements of internal inflexion (mainly short/long vowel alternation in the root) occur seldom and are of secondary importance (cf. Ta. pārū 'state' : paṟuṓal 'to suffer', kaṇ 'eye' : kāṇuṓal 'to see', sāttal 'to die' : setta (< *sa-) 'dead'.[31]

Since suffixation is the only type of affixation in the Dravidian languages, the root morpheme is always initial in simple words. Indigenous Dravidian roots are mostly monosyllabic. Root syllables may be open or closed, long or short /of the type $(C)\overset{=}{V}$ or $(C^1)\breve{V}C^2$ /. Any short or long vowel may enter the root. The type of C^1 depends on the general phonetic rules (i.e. any consonant which may occur in the initial position), while any consonant except /ñ/ may function as C^2.

The roots are bound morphemes (i.e. they form a part of the word). Therefore the roots as such do not possess anything that would enable them to be classed into parts of speech (i.e. word classes).

Parts of speech are differentiated on the word level. All Dravidian languages possess the substantive, numeral, pronoun, verb, particles and interjections (cf. also Table 5). Many include adjectives, personal nouns, adverbs, as well as postpositions, imitative words and echo-words as separate parts of speech. Conjunctions are not typical of the Dravidian languages, and prepositions are attested only in Brahui.

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31 When there are parallel short and long forms, the latter are usually attested in root words; vowel reduction in these cases is usually related to the addition of derivative suffixes (cf. B.Krishnamurti, "The History of Vowel Length in Telugu Verbal Bases", JAOS, 75, 1955; Telugu Verbal Stems, Berkeley, 1961, pp. 121-122). Exceptions show that this is a tendency rather than the rule.

Table 5

Parts of Speech in Dravidian Languages

	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	O.Ma.	M.Ma.	Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	O.Te.	M.Te.	Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
Nouns	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Numerals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pronouns	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Personal Nouns	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-?	+	-?	+	+	+	+	-
Adjectives	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Verbs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adverbs	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Particles	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Conjunctions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+?	+?	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Postpositions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+?	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
Imitative Words	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Echo-Words	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Interjections	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

THE SUBSTANTIVE

The grammatical and lexico-grammatical categories of gender, number and case are usually distinctive in the Dravidian substantives.

GENDER

The category of gender in the Dravidian languages is lexico-grammatical, i.e. it is determined by the lexical meaning of the substantive, while grammatically it is expressed by agreement in gender with other word classes which distinguish this category.

There are four gender patterns among the substantives in the Dravidian languages.

Tamil, Old Malayalam, Kota, Kannada, Kodagu and Tulu distinguish three genders in the singular - masculine (substantives denoting persons of the male sex), feminine (substantives denoting persons of the female sex) and neuter (substantives denoting animals, inanimate objects and abstract notions), and two genders in the plural - epicene (substantives denoting persons of both sexes) and neuter.

Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Kurukh and Malto distinguish two genders in the singular - masculine (substantives denoting persons of the male sex) and non-masculine (substantives denoting persons of the female sex, animals, inanimate objects and abstract notions), and two genders in the plural - epicene (substantives denoting persons of both sexes) and neuter (substantives denoting animals, inanimate objects and abstract notions).

Gondi, Konda, Kui and Kuvi have two genders - masculine and non-masculine, in both numbers.

Finally, in Brahui, Toda and Modern Malayalam the category of gender is not relevant.

At present it is not yet clear whether gender was relevant in Proto-Dravidian, and if so, which of the above

described patterns is a reflection of the original system. R.Caldwell considered Dravidian gender a recent innovation related to the emergence of pronominal suffixes in some derivative nouns; cf. Ta. tēvū 'deity', tēvaṉ 'god', tēvi 'goddess', etc.[32] However, the fact that all root nouns have gender, including those without pronominal suffixes (cf. ūṉ 'man', peṇ 'woman', pal 'tooth', etc.), seems to support the tenet that gender is not related to word derivation and cannot thus be dependent on the latter.

J.Bloch regarded the South-Dravidian gender pattern as secondary (Type 1) and believed that the Proto-Dravidian system is reflected in the binary pattern represented by Telugu and the languages of the central and northern gpoups (Types 2 and 3). His apparent reason for such a conclusion was, in his own words, "le sentiment indigène".[33]

J.Bloch's hypothesis was supported by B.Krishnamurti who holds a similar opinion that Types 2 and 3 reflect the Proto-Dravidian state, and the separation of the feminine from the non-masculine took place later.[34]

On the other hand, T.Burrow and S.Bhattacharya analysed the gender system of Parji (Type 2) and found traces of the once predominant three-gender division of the nouns (Type 1). Thus they conclude that "...the three-gender system of Tamil-Kannada originally prevailed in the rest of Dravidian, and that the introduction of a two-gender system is an innovation of Telugu and the Central Dravidian languages".[35]

The final solution depends on the discovery of the nature of the pattern of grammatical gender in the Proto-Dravidian verb, as the lexico-grammatical gender of the

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32 R.Caldwell, "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages", London, 1913, p.220.
33 J.Bloch, "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes", Paris, 1946, p. 1.
34 B.Krishnamurti, "Telugu Verbal Bases", p. 256.
35 T.Burrow and S.Bhattacharya "The Parji Language", Hertford, 1953, p. 9. In his report "New Dravidian Languages" presented for the seminar on the Dravidian linguistics in Annamalainagar (1968, January), S.Bhattacharya supports B.Krishnamurti's standpoint.

Dravidian nouns is only a reflection of the grammatical gender in the verb.[36]

NUMBER

The Dravidian languages distinguish only two numbers - singular and plural.

In most cases the singular has no special formants and its distinctive feature is the absence of the plural formants. An exception is provided by certain masculine substantives which take special singular inflexions in some languages; cf. maṉiδa-ṉ 'man' in Tamil, huṛuganu 'boy' in Kannada, tammu-ṛu 'younger brother' in Telugu.

The plural is formed by adding special affixes to the base or the Nominative Singular. The most common plural affixes usually include: (a) a voiceless or voiced velar plosive (often with the preceding homogeneous nasal sonant), (b) a lateral alveolar or retroflex sonant, or (c) an alveolar rolled sonant or retroflex one-flap sound (in the masculine or epicene substantives). Cf. urē 'house' - urēk 'houses' in Brahui, elli 'rat' - ellig 'rats' in Naiki, pittē 'bird' - pittēṅg 'birds' in Gondi, ki 'hand' - kil 'hands', aba 'father' - abar 'fathers' in Gadaba, koṛo 'son' - koṛor 'sons' in Konda.

Apart from these consonants, most plural inflexions include vowels (generally short) which either precede the consonant or follow it. Cf. tal 'head' - talku 'heads' in Naiki, mēmar 'husband' - mēmargu 'husbands' in Konda, koru 'buffalo' (the base is kor-) - korka 'buffaloes', kanu 'eye' (the base is kan-) - kaṅga 'eyes' in Kui, kallū 'stone' - kallūxe 'stones' in the southern dialect of Tamil, lōt 'sack' - lōtāk 'sacks' in Brahui, mosalu 'hare' - mosalūnge 'hares' in Modern Tamil, poṇṇū 'woman' - poṇṇuṅgō 'women' in the Brahman dialect of Tamil, koyer 'sickle' - koyerṅu 'sickles' in Konda, kaḍḍa 'river' -

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36 For more detail cf. M.Andronov, "Lichnyje formy glagola v sovremennom tamil'skom yazyke", Yazyki Indii, Moscow, 1961, p. 372.

kaḍḍaṅa 'rivers' in Kuvi, aṇṇu 'elder brother' (the base is aṇṇ-) - aṇṇaṅga 'elder brothers' in Kodagu; pāṭa 'song' - pāṭalu 'song' in Telugu, mēji 'table' - mējiḷu 'tables' in Tulu, āv 'fathom' - āvul 'fathoms' in Kolami, eg 'leaf' - egil 'leaves' in Gadaba, iccay 'fly' - iccayaḷ 'flies', manuśyan 'man' (the base is manuśya-) - manuśyāḷ 'people' in the western dialect of Tamil; kartave 'lord' - kartaverū 'lords' in Tulu, āpo 'son' - āporu 'sons' in Kui, heṅgasu 'woman' (the base is heṅgas-) - heṅgasaru 'women' in Kannada, āl 'man' - ālar 'men' in Kurukh, peṇḍu 'woman' (the base is peṇḍ-) - peṇḍir 'women' in Old Tamil, ḍoṅgal 'thief' - ḍoṅgaler 'thieves' in Parji, muttak 'old man' - muttakor 'old men' in Gadaba, tāy 'mother' - tāyār 'mothers' in Tamil.

Sometimes the plural formant is augmented by a consonantal element at the beginning of the inflexion: talā 'head' - talāhk 'heads' in Gondi, aya 'woman' - ayaska 'women', hanayi 'walking woman' (the base is hana-) - hanasika 'walking women' in Kuvi, bāva 'father' - bāvaġāk 'fathers' in Brahui, vār 'root' - vārtil 'roots', gurrol 'horse' - gurrocil 'horses in Parji, aya 'mother' - ayasil 'mothers' in Gadaba, tāy 'mother' - tāymār 'mothers' in Tamil.

In many languages of the Southern and central groups pleonastic plural suffixes are widely used which consist of the suffix -k plus the suffix -l(-ḷ) or less frequently the suffix -k plus the suffix -r(-ṛ). Cf. āḷ 'man' - āṭkaḷ 'people', peṇ 'woman' - peṇgaḷ 'women', vīṛū 'house' (the base is vīṛ-) - vīṛuxaḷ 'houses' in Tamil, mane 'house' - manegaḷu 'houses' in Kannada, pū 'flower' - pūkuḷu 'flowers' in Tulu, mrānu 'tree' (the base is mrā/n/-) - mrākulu 'trees' in Telugu, kaṇ 'eye' - kaṇkul 'eyes', sir 'vessel' - sirgul 'vessels', sir 'a buffalo cow' - sirkil 'buffalo cows', kāl 'foot' - kālgil 'feet' in Gadaba, kī 'hand' - kilku 'hands' in Naiki, tolen 'brother' - tolenkur 'brothers', maṭṭeya 'member of the 3rd clan' - maṭṭeyaker, ṭekam 'member of the 4th clan' - ṭekamger in Naiki, koītōṛk (koīt-ōṛ-k) 'the Gonds' in Gondi. In Tamil the plural may often be expressed by means

of complex suffixes consisting (etymologically) of three formants; e.g. maṉiôaṉ 'man' (the base is maṉiôa-) - maṉiôarxaḷ 'people', guru 'guru' - gurukkaṇmār (guru-k-kaḷ-mār) 'gurus'.

Finally, in separate languages the plural of substantives may be expressed by formants with no parallels in most other languages. Such are the suffixes -v, -ev, -ov in Gadaba, Parji and Kolami (cf. aya 'mother' - ayav 'mothers' in Gadaba, iya 'mother' - iyov 'mothers' in Parji, aliak 'buffalo' - aliakev 'buffaloes' in Kolami; cf. also the pleonastic suffix -k-ev in Kolami: appa-k-ev 'aunts'), the suffixes -a, -ā in Kodagu and Tamil (cf. kurubú 'shepherd' /the base kurub-/ - kuruba 'shepherds', yettu 'bull' - yettuā 'bulls' in Kodagu, māṇavi 'a girl student' - māṇaviya 'girl students' in a "low-caste" social dialect of Tamil), the suffix -guṭhi in Kurukh (cf. allā 'dog' - allāguṭhi 'dogs'; cf. also the pleonastic suffix -guṭhiar: āli 'wife' - āliguṭhiar 'wives'), -gahṇḍi in Malto (cf. beṇḍuó 'rope coil' /the base beṇḍu-/ - beṇḍu-gahṇḍi 'coils'), -uo in the Tamil "low caste" social dialect (cf. vēlakārē 'worker' /the base vēlakāran-/ - vēlakāranuo 'workers')[37] and -ām in Toda (cf. úr 'buffalo cow' - úrām 'buffalo cows').

DECLENSION

Dravidian substantival declension is effected by adding case suffixes to the stem (cf. Table 6). The number of cases varies from language to language, the core of the typically Dravidian system being formed by the Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Instrumental, Ablative and Locative cases. The meanings of the Accusative and Dative are expressed in Gondi, Konda and Brahui by a single form of the Objective case (Brahui has a special form of the

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37 As the forms of the oblique cases show the suffix -a in Kodagu and Tamil and the suffix -uo in Tamil originated respectively from -ar, -aḷ and -uval (< -u-val < -u-xaḷ < -u- + -kaḷ). M.B.Emeneau who studied Kota distinguishes the plural suffix -guḷ there.

Table 6

Case Suffixes in Dravidian Languages

Case \ Language	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	O.Te.	M.Te.
Nominative	-ø -m	-ø -õ	-ø -m	-ø -m	-ø -m	-ø -m	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø -ṛu	-ø -ṛu
Genitive	-iṉ	-in -oṛɛ	-in -ḏe -uṛe	-n	-ø -n	-a -ā	-a -ā	-ṛa -ra	-ø -da -ta	-ø	-ø
Dative	-ků -kĭ	-ků -kĭ	-ků -(n)nů	-k	-k -g	-ke -ge	-ke -ge	-kö -gö	-ku -ků -gu -gů	-ku -ki	-ku -ki
Accusative	-ey	-ɛ	-e	-n	-ø	-am -ām -anu -ā	-an(n)u -anna -a -ā	-a	-nu -nů	-n(u) -ni	-nu -ni
Instrumental	-āṉ -āl	-ālɛ	-āl	-inde	-end -ədd	-m -indam -inde	-inda -i	-iñji	-rudů -růdů		
Ablative	-iṉ -il										
Locative		-(i)lɛ -li	-il	-l	-orż	-al(u) -i	-i -(l)li	-lu	-rů -ru -ṭů -ṭu		

Table 6 (continued)

Case Suffixes in Dravidian Languages

Case \ Language	Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
Nominative	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø -d -i	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø -i	-Ø	-h -ṅ	-Ø
Genitive		-n -ne -ta -e	-(i)n -t(a) -t(o)	-(i)n -(i)ṅ -ne -ṭ(e)	-ā	-Ø	-Ø	-i -Ø	-gahi	-ki	-(n)ā
Dative	-(u)ṅ	-(u)n	-(u)g -(u)ṅ		-un -Ø	-ṅ	-ki	-ki	-gē	-(i)k	-ki -e
Accusative	-(u)n	-(u)n -(o)n	-(i)n	-(i)n			-i	-i	-an -in	-(i)n	
Instrumental	-(n)aḍ	-la	-(n)oḍ	-nāl	-ē	-v-an			-tī	-(i)t	-aṭ
Ablative	-tanaṭ	-ar -tal	-tug -ar(e) -arre -ti	-tun	-al			-ṭi -ki		-(i)nte	-ān
Locative	-t -eṅ -(n)adaṅ	-tun -n -un -in -en		-tin -n	-ē	-loy -u		-a	-nū	-(i)no	-aṭī

Dative case which expresses an object for which or for whose sake the action is performed). The meanings of the Instrumental and Ablative are expressed by a common Instrumental-Ablative form in Kurukh, Konda, Naiki, Tulu, Kannada, Kodagu, Toda and Kota, while in Old Tamil, Parji and Gadaba the meanings of the Ablative and Locative are expressed by the Ablative-Locative (along with a special Locative form in Gadaba and Ablative in Parji). A common form expresses the Instrumental and Locative meanings in Gondi. Several locative cases are distinguished in Brahui: Locative proper, expressing the place of action, the Lative, expressing the direction of action, the Adessive, expressing an object in whose immediate proximity the action is performed, and the special Terminative case, which expresses the limit or border of action. The Comitative is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Konda, Kui and Brahui, the Instrumental-Comitative is attested in Gadaba, and the Lative in Tulu.

Many languages have also various vocative forms. Frequently case forms appear in combinations with postpositions.

Case suffixes are uniform for each language, variations being generally caused by morphophonemic processes.

In the singular the base to which case suffixes are added may be the Nominative form (cf. xarās 'ox' - the base xarās- in Brahui, āl 'man' - the base āl- in Kurukh, mṛeha 'man' - the base mṛeha- in Kuvi, āba 'father' - the base āba- in Kui, ayli 'girl' - the base ayli- in Konda, etc.), or the Nominative form minus the corresponding case suffix (cf. maleh 'mountaineer' - the base male- , beṇḍuó 'rope coil' - the base beṇḍu- in Malto, tammuṛu 'younger brother' - the base tammu- in Telugu, maram 'tree' - the base mara- in Tamil, etc.). Sometimes the oblique case base has a special suffix, as in aya 'woman' - the base ayan- in Kuvi, mars 'axe' - the base marst-, rōn 'house' - the base rōt- (with the nasal dropped) in Gondi. In many cases the oblique case base differs from that of the Nominative form by an alternating final consonant (cf. tūrāl/tūrān- 'boy', varōṛ/varōḍ- 'neck' in Gondi, kokasi kokaṇ- 'boy' in Kuvi, mṛeheñju/mṛeheni- 'man' in Kui) or

vowel (cf. maramēni/naramēnya- 'man', jīva/jīva-/jīvo- 'life' in Tulu).

Frequent augmentation of the base to which case suffixes are added is typical of the Dravidian declension, cf. mara-tt-, mara-tt-in- (maram 'tree'), vīṭṭ- < vīṭ- + -tt- (vīṭū 'house') in Tamil, mara-d- (mara-vu 'tree') in Kannada, gurra-mu-na- (gurra-mu 'horse') in Telugu, ayli-di- (ayli 'girl') in Konda, kurub-an- (kurubū 'shepherd'), boḷt-ēn- (boḷt-adu 'white object'), mara-t-, mara-t-un- (mara 'tree'), pōri-n- (pōri 'buffalo'), mōva-ḷ- (mōva 'daughter') in Kodagu, kaḍḍa-t-, kaḍḍa-ta- (kaḍḍa 'river'), kokaṇ-a-, kokaṇ-a-'- (kokasi 'boy') in Kuvi.

The general pattern of the Dravidian declension is made even more complicated by the fact that depending on phonetic conditions euphonic sounds and syllables may be added to the base.

The Nominative form is usually taken as a base in the plural. An important exception is the oblique forms in Brahui, where the plural base includes the formant -te- instead of the plural suffix, as well as the oblique forms in Telugu, whose plural base includes the formant -la- (instead of the formant -lu in the Nominative); cf. xarēs-te- (xarēs-t- in the Objective and Genitive) with xarēs 'ox', xarēsk 'oxen' in Brahui and puli-la- with puli 'tiger', pulilu 'tigers' in Telugu.

The following are some of the typical base augments: -r-, -ḷ- in Kodagu (cf. kuruba-r- with kuruba 'shepherds', pōriya-ḷ- with pōriya 'buffaloes'), -e- in Tulu (cf. pūkuḷ-e- with pūkuḷu 'flowers'), -n- in Gondi (cf. rōhk-n- with rōhk 'houses'), -ḷ- in Modern Tamil (cf. poṇṇūṅga-ḷ- with poṇṇūṅgɛ 'women'), -i- in Kui (cf. ēbar-i- with ēbaru 'fathers'), etc.

DECLENSION PATTERNS OF THE SUBSTANTIVES IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

Kodagu

	pōri 'buffalo'	
Nom.	pōri	pōriya
Gen.	pōrira	pōriyaṛa
Dat.	pōrikō	pōriyakō
Acc.	pōrina	pōriyaḷa

Tulu

	mara 'tree'	
Nom.	mara	marokuḷu
Gen.	marata	marokuḷe
Dat.	maroku	marokuḷegū
Acc.	maronu	marokuḷenū
Instr.-Abl.	maroṛūdu	marokuḷeṛūdū
Loc.	maroṭu	marokuḷeṛū
Lat.	maraṭa	marokuḷeṛa

Gondi

	rōn 'house'	
Nom.	rōn	rōhk
Gen.	rōtā	rōhknā
Obj.	rōtun	rōhkun
Instr.-Loc.	rōtē	rōhknē
Abl.	rōtal	rōhknal

Kuvi

	mṛeha 'man'	
Nom.	mṛeha	mṛehaṅa
Gen.	mṛehati	mṛehaṅa
Dat.	mṛeha(ta)ki	mṛehaṅa(ta)ki
Acc.	mṛeha'i	mṛehaṅaṇi

Malto

	maleh 'mountaineer'	
Nom.	maleh	maler
Gen.	maleki	malerki
Dat.	malek	malerik
Acc.	malen	malerin
Instr.	malet	malerit
Abl.	malente	malerinte
Loc.	maleno	malerino

Brahui

	xarās 'ox'	
Nom.	xarās	xarāsk
Gen.	xarāsnā	xarāstā
Dat.	xarāski	xarāstēki
Obj.	xarāse	xarāste
Instr.	xarāsaṭ	xarāsteaṭ
Abl.	xarāsān	xarāsteān
Loc.	xarāsaṭī	xarāstēṭī
Lat.	xarāsēy	xarāsteēy
Adess.	xarāsis(k)	xarāstēk
Term.	xarāsiskā	xarāstēkā

Vocatives are, as a rule, only sporadically formed from substantives denoting people. Types of formation are different, the most frequent being vowel lengthening in the final syllable, dropping of the final consonant (often

accompanied by the lengthening of the preceding vowel), as well as vowel alternations in the final syllable; cf. amma 'woman' - ammē in Tulu, anna 'elder brother' - annē in Telugu, maleh 'mountaineer' - male in Malto, appaṉ 'father' - appā, kuẓandey 'child' - kuẓandē, kuẓandēy in Tamil, ēl 'man' - ēlayō in Kurukh, etc.

THE NUMERAL

Dravidian numerals like other nouns have case declension using the same case suffixes. The numerals are distinguished by the fact that they have no number forms (except, of course, cases of substantivisation), neither do they agree in number with the word qualified. Cf. in Kannada ippattu kuduregaḷu 'twenty horses'. The distinction of gender among the numerals is not common, and it is usually limited to the first three, at most five numerals, as in Parji:

	Masculine		Feminine
okur(i)	'one man'	okal(i)	'one woman'
irul	'two men'	iral	'two women'
mūvir	'three men'	muyal	'three women'
nelvir	'four men'	nelal	'four women'
cēvir	'five men'	ceyal	'five women'

Neuter

okut, okti	'one object'	nālu(k)	'four objects'
iṛdu(k)	'two objects'	cēdu(k)	'five objects'
mūdu(k)	'three objects'		

Such gender forms are used adjectivally as well as substantivally in the majority of the modern languages; cf. in Kannada: ondu 'one object' (neut.) and ondu paṭṭaṇadalli 'in one city', obba 'one man' (masc.) and obba jamēdāranu 'one jamedar'. The situation is different in Tamil and Malayalam, where only neuter numerals from (i)raṇḍu 'two' upwards may be used adjectivally, thus losing gender distinctions; cf. Ta. nālu āṭkaḷ 'four men' and nāṅgaḷ nālvar-um 'all four of us'.

This, as well as the data from the ancient languages,

shows that the use of the numerals as prepositive attributes was not typical of the Proto-Dravidian state and developed only later.[38]

The Proto-Dravidian lack of numerals used as prepositive attributes was compensated by a widespread productive word composition which gave dvigu-type composita with numeral roots as their first element; cf. O.Ta. iru-ôalai-p-puḷ 'two-headed bird'. Similar constructions have been preserved in some illiterate languages, e.g. in Parji: ir-kocil 'two sides'. The numerals denoting numbers from ten upwards are formed by such composition of numeral roots and bases, e.g. Ta. oru-ßaôû 'ten', iru-ßaôû 'twenty', mu-p-paôû 'thirty', nāṯ-paôû 'forty', ai-m-baôû 'fifty', aṟu-ßaôû 'sixty', ẹẓu-ßaôû 'seventy', eṇ-baôû 'eighty', etc.

The roots of the Dravidian numerals are as follows: ōr- 'one' (also oṉ-ḏ-, outside the southern group ok-); Ir- 'two', mū- 'three', nāl- 'four', (c)ai- 'five', (c)āṟ- 'six', ẹẓ- 'seven', ẹṇ- 'eight', toḷ- 'nine' (as well as the compound numeral oṉ-baô-), paô- 'ten', nūṟ- 'hundred'.

Etymology of the numerals reveals traces of a more ancient octonary system which was apparently current among the speakers of Proto-Dravidian before they adopted the decimal system; cf. ẹṇ- 'eight' from ẹṇ 'number' (ẹṇṇ- 'to count'), as well as paô-/paṉ- 'ten' (the latter as in paṉ-ṉ-iraṇḍû 'twelve' or with a long vowel in oru-ßāṉ, oṉ-bāṉ 'nine', iru-ßāṉ, 'twenty', mu-p-pāṉ 'thirty', nāṯ-pāṉ 'forty') from paṉ-/pal- 'many'.[39]

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38 Cf. also T.Burrow and S.Bhattacharya, "The Parji Language", p. 37.

39 The alternation ô/ṉ may be seen in eô-/eṉ- 'what', iô- 'this'/iṉ- (as in iṉ-ṉ-a) 'such', aô- 'that'/aṉ- (as in aṉ-ṉ-a) 'such'. There is a possible *-ṁ/-ṉ alternation here (as in the Old Kannada nāṁ/nān 'I', nīṁ/nīn 'you', eṁ/en 'my', or in the Old Tamil *eṁ/eṉ 'that', axam/axaṉ 'soul, nilam/nilaṉ 'earth', iṟam/iraṉ 'place', 'left side'), *-ṁ being replaced by the neuter suffix -t(û), i.e. *paṁ alternates with paṉ according to the general rule (cf. "Nannūl", sutra 122), giving *pam-> paô- (and further paṯṯ-), as iṟam/iraṉ 'left side'> iṟaôû 'that which is on the left side' (the base iṟatt- < iṟam), *eṁ/eṉ 'what' > eô- 'that' (the base eṭṭ-), etc. Cf. also in Kolami im 'this man'/id 'this woman',

However, the octonary system itself is probably a comparatively late development, since originally only three first numerals were known (cf. nāl- 'several' 'four'; characteristically, the languages of the northern groups borrowed their numerals beginning with four from the Indo-European languages). Thus, etymologically the Dravidian count appears as one, two, three, several; five, six, seven, number; incomplete many; many.

Only some of the Dravidian languages possess ordinal numerals. In Tamil, for instance, the meaning of order is expressed periphrastically by a combination of a cardinal numeral with the future participle of the verb āval 'to become' (or the neuter participial noun, future, singular of the same verb), e.g. iraṇḍu 'two' - iraṇḍ-ām (or iraṇḍ-āvaḍu) 'second'. This meaning is similarly expressed in Malayalam: onnu 'one' - onn-ām, onn-āmatte 'first'. The same meaning is expressed in Kui by the combination of a cardinal numeral with the pronoun tari 'something', e.g. tīni 'three' - tīnitari 'third', sāri 'four' - sāritari 'fourth' (the first two numerals - vēletari 'first', rīhetari 'second' are formed in a special way). In Telugu the suffix of the ordinal numeral -ō (from -ava) is also added to the cardinal numeral (cf. reṇḍu 'two' - reṇḍō, reṇḍava 'second'). Etymologically this suffix may go back to the verbal root avu- 'to become'. In Kannada ordinal numerals are formed from cardinal numerals by means of the suffixes -aneya, -anē: ondu 'one' - ondaneya, ondanē 'first'. In Kodagu and Tulu ordinal numerals are formed similarly by means of the cognate suffix -ane (cf. daṇḍu 'two' - daṇḍane 'second' in Kodagu, mūji 'three' - mūjane 'third' in Tulu). In Kurukh it is the suffix -tā (cf. eṇḍ 'two' - eṇḍtā 'second', mūnd 'three' - mūndtā 'third'). Ordinal numerals in Brahui are formed from cardinal ones by adding the suffix -imīkō (whose second element -īkō is typical also of an adjective group in Brahui); cf. iraṭ 'two' - iraṭṭimīkō 'second', musiṭ 'three' - musiṭṭimīkō 'third', cār 'four' - cārimīkō 'fourth' (avalīkō 'first' is

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'this object', am 'that man' / ad 'that woman', 'that object', etc.

a special formation from a suppletive base). All ordinal numerals in Malto are borrowed from Hindi: pehla 'first', dusra 'second', tisra 'third', cavta 'fourth', pacma 'fifth', etc.

PRONOUNS

As a rule, the Dravidian languages distinguish personal pronouns (cf. Table 7), as well as reflexive, demonstrative, interrogative, attributive and indefinite pronouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns in the Dravidian languages distinguish three persons (the first, second and third), two numbers (the singular and the plural) and, in the third person, two or three genders (except Toda and Brahui).

The distinction between the inclusive and exclusive pronouns of the first person plural is typical of the majority of the Dravidian languages (except Modern Kannada, Parji, Gadaba, Konda and Brahui). The former include the person to whom the speaker is addressing, while the latter exclude him or her (cf. nĕm 'we', 'we and you', 'we with you' and yĕm 'we', 'we without you', 'we as opposed to you' in Tamil).

There are parallel pronominal forms in the third person, which describe the position of the object in space depending on its distance from the speaker (or sometimes from the addressee). The most regular of these are two series of pronouns which denote respectively close and remote objects; cf. in Tulu ĕye 'he', 'that man' and imbe 'he', 'this man', ĕḷů 'she', 'that woman' and mŏḷů 'she', 'this woman', avu 'it', 'that object' and undu 'it', 'this object', ĕrů, ĕkuḷu 'they', 'those people' and mĕrů, mŏkuḷu 'they', 'these people', aykuḷu 'they', 'those objects' and undekuḷu 'they', 'these objects'. Old Tamil, Kota, Old Kannada, Kurukh and Brahui distinguish three series of the third person personal pronoun, two being identical with the above described Tulu categories, and the third denoting

objects which either occupy an intermediate position or are near the addressee; cf. in Old Tamil avaṉ 'he', avaḷ 'she', avar 'they', aṏû 'it', avey 'they' (about people and objects which are remote or outside the speaker's view), ivaṉ 'he', ivaḷ 'she', ivar 'they', iṏû 'it', ivey 'they' (about people and objects which are near the speaker) and uvaṉ 'he', uvaḷ 'she', uvar 'they', uṏû 'it', uvey 'they' (about people and objects which are at a certain distance from the speaker, or rather close to the addressee). Finally, four series of such pronouns are distinguished in Kui an Kuvi; cf. in Kui: iañju, eañju, aañju, oañju 'he', iaru, earu, aaru, oaru 'they', Īri, ēri, āri, ōri 'she', 'it', Īvi, ēvi, āvi ōvi 'they' (according to an increasing distance from the speaker).

To express a greater respect for the addressee, plural forms of personal pronouns are often used here, as in many other languages, in the function of the honorific form of the singular. Reflexive pronouns (cf. below) as well as special honorific 3rd person pronouns are also used in this function; cf. addēxam, iddēxam 'this/that man', 'this/that person' in Malayalam, ātan(u), ūtan(u), Itan(u) 'he' and āke, ūke, Īke 'she' in Kannada, āyana, ataṟu, Īyana, itaṟu 'he' and āme, āviṟa, Īme, Īviṟa 'she' in Telugu, etc. Apart from that third person pronouns with a special feature are attested in some languages; cf. indu 'this' (along with undu) in Tulu, emphatic nāh 'this here he' in Malto, colloquial forms vāṇḍru, vāṇḍḷu, vāḷḷu 'he' in Telugu, etc.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

Reflexive pronouns are attested in every Dravidian language (one in the singular, and two or three in the plural), except in Konda: tāṉ (taṉ-) 'self', tām (tam-), tāṅgaḷ (taṅgaḷ-) 'selves' in Tamil, tān (tan-) 'self', tām (tam-), tāṅṅaḷ (taṅṅaḷ-) 'selves' in Malayalam, tān (tan-, ta-) 'self', tām (tam-) 'selves' in Kota, tōn (tan-) 'self', tam 'selves' in Toda, tān(u) (tan-) 'self', tām (tam-), tāvu (tam-), tāvugaḷu (tāvugaḷ-) 'selves' in Kanna-

Personal Pronouns in Dravidian Languages (pronominal

			O.Ta.	M.Ta. lit.	M.Ta. coll.	Ma.
1st Person	Sg.		yān (en-) nān (en-)	nān (en-)	nā (en-)	ñān (en-)
1st Person	Pl.	incl.	nām (nam-)	nām (nam-)	nāmo (nam-)	nām (nam-) nammaḷ
1st Person	Pl.	excl.	yām (em-)	nāṅgaḷ (eṅgaḷ-)	nāṅgɛ (eṅgaḷ-)	ñaṅṅaḷ (eṅṅaḷ-, ñaṅṅaḷ-)
2nd Person	Sg.		nī (nin-, un-)	nī (un-)	nī (on-)	nī (nin-)
2nd Person	Pl.		nīm (num-) nī[illegible] (num-)	nīr (um-) nīṅgaḷ (uṅgaḷ-)	nīru (om-) nīyṅgɛ (oṅgaḷ-)	niṅṅaḷ
3rd Person	Sg.	masc.	avan ivan	avan ivan	avē (avan-) ivē (ivan-)	avan ivan
3rd Person	Sg.	fem.	avaḷ ivaḷ	avaḷ ivaḷ	ava (avaḷ-) iva (ivaḷ-)	avaḷ ivaḷ
3rd Person	Sg.	neut.	[illegible] iṟu (iṟ-)	aṟu (aṟ-) iṟu (iṟ-)	aṟu (aṟ-) iṟu (iṟ-)	aṟu (aṟ-) iṟu (iṟ-)
3rd Person	Pl.	masc. / fem.	avar ivar	avar(xaḷ) ivar(xaḷ)	avaṅgɛ (avaṅgaḷ-) ivaṅgɛ (ivaṅgaḷ-)	avar ivar
3rd Person	Pl.	neut.	avey (av-) ivey (iv-)	avey(xaḷ) ivey(xaḷ)	aṟuṅgɛ (aṟuṅgaḷ-) iṟuṅgɛ (iṟuṅgaḷ-)	ava (av-) iva (iv-)

Table 7

bases are given in brackets)

Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.
Ēn (en-)	ōn (en-)	Ēn (en-)	nĒ(nu) (nan-)
Ēm (am-)	om	Ēm (nam-) nĒvu (nam-)	nĒvu (nam-)
Ēm (em-)	em	Ēm (em-)	
nī (ni-, nin-)	nī (nin-)	nīn (nin-)	nī(nu) (nin-)
nīm (nim-)	nim	nīm (nim-)	nīvu (nim-)
avn ūn ivn	ae (an-) ie (in-)	avan uvan ivan	avanu (avan-) ivanu (ivan-)
avḷ ūḷ ivḷ		avaḷ uvaḷ ivaḷ	avaḷu (avaḷ-) ivaḷu (ivaḷ-)
ad id		adu (ad-) udu (ud-) idu (id-)	adu (ad-) idu (id-)
ad ūr id	aeēm ieēm	avar uvar ivar	avaru (avar-) ivaru (ivar-)
ad id		avu (av-) uvu (uv-) ivu (iv-)	avu (av-) avugaḷu (avugaḷ-) ivu (iv-) ivugaḷu (ivugaḷ-)

Personal Pronouns in

			Kod.	Tu.	Te.	Kol.
1st Person	Sg.		nā(nů) (yen-, nan-)	yānů (yen-)	(n)ēnu (nan-, nā-)	ān (an-)
	Pl.	incl.	naṅga	nama (nam-)	manamu (ma-)	nōṇḍ
		excl.	eṅga	yeṅkuḷu (yeṅkuḷe-)	(m)ēmu (mā-)	ām (am-)
2nd Person	Sg.		nī(nů) (nin-, nī-)	ī (nin-)	(n)īvu (nin-, nī-)	nīv (in-)
	Pl.		niṅga	nikuḷu (nikuḷe-) īrů	(m)īru (mim-, mī-)	nīr (im-)
3rd Person	Sg.	masc.	avu (avan-) ivu (ivan-)	āye (āya-) imbe (imbya-)	vāṛu (vāni-) vīṛu (vīni-)	am(d) /am(n)-/ im(d) /im(n)-/
		fem.	ava iva	āḷů (āḷe-) mōḷů (mōḷe-)	adi (dāni-) idi (dīni-)	ad id
		neut.	adu (ad-) idu (id-)	avu (ay-) undu (unde-)		
	Pl.	masc.	avu (ayan-) ivu (iyan-)	ākuḷu (ākuḷe-) mōkuḷu (mōkuḷe-)	vāru (vāri-) vīru (vīri-)	avr ivr
		fem.				
		neut.		aykuḷu (aykuḷe-) undekuḷu (undekuḷe-)	avi (vāṭi-) ivi (vīṭi-)	adav (adavl-) idav (idavl-)

Table 7 (continued)

Dravidian Languages

Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui
ān (an-)	ān (an-)	ān (an-)	nannā (nā-) anā (nā-)	nān (nā-)	ānu (nā-)
nēṇḍ	ām (am-)	ām (am-)	aplō (aplōt-)	mān (mā-)	āju (mā-)
ām (am-)			ammaṭ (mā-)		āmu (mā-)
(n)īv (in-)	īn (in-)	īn (in-)	immā (nī-)	nīn (nī-)	īnu (nī-)
īm (im-)	īm (im-)	īm (im-)	immaṭ (mī-)	mīr (mī-)	īru (mī-)
ōn īn	ōd (ōn-) ūd	ōṇḍ	ōl (ōn-) ēl	vāṇḍ (vāni-) vēṇḍ (vēni-)	oañju (oani-) aañju (aani-) eañju (eani-) iañju (iani-)
ad id	ad id	ad id	ad id	vād vēd	ōri (ōra-) āri (āra-) ēri (ēra-) īri (īra-)
ōr īr	ōr ūr	ōr	ōṛ(k) ēṛ	vār (vāri-) vēr (vēri-)	oaru (oari-) aaru (aari-) earu (eari-) iaru (iari-)
			av iv	vāk vēk	ōvi (ōva-) āvi (āva-) ēvi (ēva-) īvi (īva-)
anda inda	av iv	av			

Table 7 (continued)

Personal Pronouns in Dravidian Languages

			Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
1st Person	Sg.		nānu (nā-)	ēn (eṅg-)	ēn (eṅg-)	ī (kan-)
	Pl.	incl.	māro (mā-)	nām (nam-)	nām (nam-)	nan
		excl.	māmbu (mā-)	ēm (em-)	ēm (em-)	
2nd Person	Sg.		nīnu (nī-)	nīn (niṅg-)	nīn (niṅg-)	nī /n(ē)-/
	Pl.		mīmbu (mī-)	nīm (nim-)	nīm (nim-)	num
3rd Person	Sg.	masc.	āsi ūsi ēvasi īvasi	ās hūs īs	āh īh	ē(d) (ēd-, ēṛ-) ō(d) (ōd-, ōṛ-) dā(d) (dād-, dāṛ-)
		fem.	ādi ūdi ēdi īdi	ād hūd īd	ādō īdō	
		neut.				
	Pl.	masc.	āri ūri ēvari īvari	ār hūr īr	ār īr	ēfk ōfk dāfk
		fem.	āti ūti ēvati īvati	abṛā huṛā ibṛā	ādō īdō	
		neut.				

da, tānù (tan-) 'self', taṅga 'selves' in Kodagu, tānù 'self', tānùkuḷu 'selves' in Tulu, tānu (tan-) 'self', tāmu (tam-), tamaru, tāru 'selves' in Telugu, tan- 'self', tam- 'selves' in Kolami (only in the oblique cases), tām 'selves' in Naiki (only in the plural), tān (tan-) 'self', tām 'selves' in Parji, tān (tan-) 'self', tām (tam-) 'selves' in Gadaba, tanā 'self', tammā, tammaṭ 'selves' in Gondi (only in the nominative), tānu (tāṛan-) 'self', tāru (tāṛan-) 'selves' in Kui, tanū (tan-) 'self', tambū (tam-) 'selves' in Kuvi, tān (taṅg-) 'self', tām (tam-) 'selves' in Kurukh, tān(i) (taṅg-) 'self', tām(i) (tam-) 'selves' in Malto, tēn 'self', 'selves' in Brahui (only in the oblique cases).

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The demonstrative pronouns in the Dravidian languages have the same spatial categories as the third person personal pronouns (cf. above), which, it should be noted, are etymologically cognate to the former. The demonstrative pronouns distinguish two, three or four degrees of the object's remoteness from the speaker (or the addressee).

	about objects which are remote or outside the view ('that')	about objects which are rather remote or close to the addressee	about objects which are close ('this')
Old Tamil	anda	unda	inda
Mo. Tamil	andɛ	undɛ (in the dialects)	ùndɛ
Malayalam	ā	-	ī
Kota	a	-	i
Toda	ə	-	i
Old Kannada	ā	ū	ī
M.Kannada	ā	-	ī
Kodagu	ā		ī
Tulu	ā		ī
Telugu	ā		ī
Kolami	ā		ī
Naiki	ā		ī

Parji	ā			ī
Gadaba	ā			ī
Konda	ā			ī
Kui	ō	ā	ē	ī
Kuvi	ā	ū	ē	ī
Kurukh	ā	hū		ī
Malto	ā	̀		ī
Brahui	ē	ō		dā

Demonstrative pronouns do not distinguish gender and number, neither do they have any case forms. They perform the function of a prepositive attribute in the sentence.

INTERROGATIVE AND OTHER PRONOUNS

The majority of the interrogative pronouns in the Dravidian languages have the structure and grammatical characteristics identical with or similar to those of the third person personal pronouns (they possess the same gender and number forms) or the demonstrative pronouns.

The difference is purely lexical. In most cases the interrogative pronouns include the basic root element (y)ă-/(y)ĕ-, which shows the signs of additional phonetic development in separate languages; cf. yāvaṉ, evaṉ 'who', 'which man', yāvaḷ, evaḷ 'who', 'which woman', yāóu, ēóu, eóu 'what', (y)āvar/(y)ār 'who', 'what people', yā(vey) 'what', 'what objects', enda 'what', 'which' in Old Tamil, evn 'who' (masc.), evḷ 'who' (fem.), ed/edn/ēd/en 'what', evr 'who' (pl.), e 'what', 'which' in Kota, ēe (ān-) 'who', 'what' (sg.), ēeām 'who', 'what' (pl.), e 'what', 'which' in Toda, (d)ārů 'who', ennů 'what', ē 'which', 'what' in Kodagu, ēn 'who' (sg.), ēr 'who' (pl), tā(ne) 'what' in Naiki, bōl, bōr 'who', 'what man', bōṛ(k) 'who', 'what men', bad 'who', 'what woman', bav 'who', 'what women', bār(āṅg) 'what', battī 'what', 'which' in Gondi, anañju 'who' (masc.) anaru 'who' (masc. pl.), anari 'who', 'what' (non-masc.), anai 'who', 'what' (non-masc. pl.), ani 'what', 'which' in Kui, nē 'who', endr 'what', ekā 'what', 'which' in Kurukh, dē(r) 'who, ant 'what', arā 'what','which' in Brahui.

Attributive pronouns are usually derived from the bases which are etymologically related to the demonstrative pronouns and denote the same spatial categorisation of the qualified objects; cf. anōn 'such a man (as that)', inōn 'such a man (as this)', anōḷ 'such a woman (as that)', inōḷ 'such a woman (as this)', anōr 'such people (as those)', inōr 'such people (as these)', and 'such an object (as that)', 'such objects (as those)', ind 'such an object (as this)', 'such objects (as these)', anā 'such (as that)', inā 'such (as this)', in Kota, aṇṭon 'such a man (as that)', iṇṭon 'such a man (as this)', aṇṭor 'such men (as those)', iṇṭor 'such men (as these)', aṇṭod 'such a woman or object (as that)', iṇṭod 'such a woman or object (as this)', aṇṭov 'such women or objects (as those)', iṇṭov 'such women or objects (as these)' in Kolami, etc.

The indefinite pronouns are similar to the attributive pronouns (as well as to the interrogative and third person personal pronouns) as regards the type of inflexions. The difference is lexical, as the indefinite pronouns are derived from the bases meaning 'many', 'few', 'some', 'other', etc; cf. palar 'many' (about people), silar 'few' (about people), pala 'many' (about objects), sila 'few' (about objects) in Tamil.

In some languages (e.g. Tamil, Malayalam, Kui, etc.) a special class of possessive pronouns may be established. They consist of a root element of the first (second) person Personal pronouns or a reflexive pronoun plus non-root elements of the third person personal pronouns; cf. in Kui nāañju 'my man', nāaru 'my people', nāndi 'my object', nāi 'my objects'; māañju 'our man', māaru 'our people', māndi 'our object', māi 'our objects'; nīañju 'thy man', nīaru 'thy people', nīndi 'thy object', nīi 'thy objects', mīañju 'your man', mīaru 'your people', mīndi 'your object', mīi 'your objects'; tāañju '(one's) own man', tāaru '(one's) own people', tāndi '(one's) own object', tāi '(one's) own objects'.

These pronouns are declined as the corresponding third person personal pronouns.

PERSONAL NOUNS

Old Tamil and Old Kannada as well as a number of modern illiterate Dravidian languages (Parji, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh and Malto) possess personal nouns specifically characteristic of the Proto-Dravidian language.

Like the substantives the personal nouns distinguish the gender, number, and, sometimes, the case, but unlike them the personal nouns possess the category of person. The latter is formally expressed in special pronominal suffixes which are added to the root of a substantive, its base or nominative form, thus transforming it into a personal noun with the corresponding personal characteristics. Hence, all personal nouns are derivatives from the point of view of their word-building structure, root words are not attested among them. In Old Tamil the personal nouns were formed by means of the following suffixes: -ĕṉ (1st pers. sg.), -ĕm, ăm, ŏm (1st pers. pl.), -ey,-āy, -ŏy (2nd pers.sg.), -ĭr (2nd pers.pl.), -ăṉ, -ŏṉ (3rd pers. sg. masc.), -ăḷ, -ŏḷ (3rd pers. sg. fem.), -ăr, -ŏr (3rd pers. pl. ep.), -(t)tu (3rd pers. sg. neut.) -a (3rd pers. sg./ pl. neut.). Thus, the following personal nouns are formed from the root nal- (as in nalam 'goodness', 'the good'): nallēṉ 'good I', 'I who am good', nallĕm 'good we', 'we who are good', nallāy 'good thou', 'thou who art good', nallīr 'good you (pl.)', 'you (pl.) who are good', nallāṉ 'good he', nallāḷ 'good she', nallār 'good they (people)', naṉḏu 'good it', nalla 'good they (objects)'.

Similarly the following personal nouns are formed from substantives: nāy 'dog' - nāyēṉ 'I, the dog', tēvaṉ 'God' - tēvarīr 'you who are like gods', mey 'truth' - meyyāṉ 'he who is the embodiment of truth', etc.

The case declension of personal nouns is similar to the declension of the substantives and other nouns: pāviyēṉeyp paṇixoṇḏāy 'me, the sinful, thou took into thy service', siŏeyttal valleyyāl neṛundaxey... 'O, thou, the great one, by thee, the mighty, is (everything) destroyed',

nāyēṯkū aruḷiṉey... 'to me, the dog, thou hast shown pity.'

In a similar way the personal nouns are formed in other languages; cf. anā koītu-nā āndan 'I am a Gond' (lit. 'I am I who belong to the Gondi tribe'), immā cuḍḍō-nī āndī 'thou art (still) young', immā parā badmāś-tī 'thou art a great scoundrel', ammaṭ vartālōṟ-ām āndām 'we are guests', ōl bēnd-ul? 'where is he?' in Gondi, ī pūvul vilov āy 'these flowers are white' (lit. 'are white they /objects/') in Parji, ēn kūṟuxan 'I (belong to the tribe of the) Kurukh', nīn eṟpantā urbai? 'art thou the owner of this house?' in Kurukh, āmu kūiṅga-n-amu 'we are we who belong to the tribe of Kui' in Kui, ēn maqen 'I am I who am a child', nīn maqe 'thou art thou who art a child' in Malto, etc.

In some languages, e.g. in Tamil, Mediaeval and Modern Kannada, personal nouns of the 1st and 2nd person fell into disuse. The remaining personal nouns of the third person thus lost their opposing personal counterparts and with them their own personal characterisation, and, finally, changed into simple substantives, where they comprise one of the derivative classes.

The character of the personal nouns in the Dravidian languages has for a long time been a subject of debate. Thus, the ancient Tamil grammar treatises "Tolkappiyam" and "Nannul" classify the personal nouns as a variety of the verb, apparently on account of their frequent occurrence as predicates. This point of view is supported by such students of Tamil grammar as G.Pope, G.Lazarus, Ch.Rhenius, Arumuhanavalar, etc., as well as by R.Caldwell.

J.Bloch separated the personal nouns from the verb, and classifying them as "pronominal nouns", suggested that they should be regarded as a separate part of speech.[40] However, his understanding of the nature of this part of speech remained basically traditional: he stated that "les noms pronominaux...équivalent dès lors exactement à des verbs"[41] and grouped the personal nouns together with such

40 J.Bloch, "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes", pp. 27-36.
41 Ibid., p. 33.

non-finite verbal forms as the participial noun (cf.below).

T.Burrow and A.Master criticised sharply this point of view, however the only explanation they could put forward treated this part of speech as an indeclinable adjective[42] functioning in the sentence as either an attribute or predicate.[43]

The above-given examples, taken from the ancient Tamil monuments "Purananuru", "Tiruvasaham" and "Tirukkural" disprove this thesis: they show that the difference between the personal nouns and the substantives lies not in their lack of case declension (in fact they are regularly declinable), or their exclusive adjectival and predicative roles (actually these forms may perform the same syntactic functions as the substantives or other nouns), but, rather, in their personal characteristics.

THE ADJECTIVE

The adjectives in the Dravidian languages are not numerous. They have no gender or number forms, and the only syntactic function they can perform is that of a prepositive attribute to other nouns. Naiki and Brahui are an exception in that predicative uses of the adjectives are attested there; cf. in Naiki ōne apaṛ phaṛ anlen, ane apaṛ lakka 'his[1] house[2] is[4] big[3], my[5] house[6] small[7]'.

The most common adjectival suffix is -a , which in some languages derives qualitative adjectives from the roots or nominal bases; cf. Ta. periya 'big', siṟiya 'small', ariya 'rare', 'difficult', 'expensive', pasiya 'green'; Ma. paṛaya 'old', puδiya 'new', valiya 'strong'; Ka. doḍḍa 'big', cikka 'small'; Kod. nalla 'good', pudiya 'new', ceriya 'small', etc.

The analysis of the ancient texts shows that these forms are quite recent. Thus, in Tamil the adjectives in

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42 T.Burrow, "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes par J.Bloch", BSO(A)S, 12, 1947, pp. 254-255; A.Master, "Structure grammaticale des languaes dravidiennes par J.Bloch", JRAS, 1949, pp. 106-107.

43 T.Burrow, S.Bhattacharya, "The Parji Language", pp.32-33.

-a developed from the 3rd person neuter personal nouns, plural, which lost their ability to be used substantively:[44] nalla 'good objects' > 'good', periya 'big objects' > 'big', siṟiya 'small objects' > 'small' (cf. a similar development in the verb: alla 'they are not' > 'is not', 'are not' /without distinguishing the gender, person or number/, illey 'they do not exist' > 'no', 'there is no', 'there are no', etc.).

The origin of such adjectives becomes apparent when they are used with the particles: periya-v-um siṟiya-v-um ēxiya maδuḷaṅ-gaṉi-viδeyxaḷeyp pōla... 'like big and small stones of pomegranate' (lit. 'like stones of pomegranate which were big and small objects').

In Kui all adjectives end in -i : deri 'big', kog(er)i 'small', negi 'good', pṛāḍi 'old', pūni 'new', etc. In other languages they have no special endings: posa 'new', porlu 'beautiful', yeḍḍe 'good' in Tulu, ćakka 'nice', mañci 'good', 'kind' in Telugu, doo 'big', telmi 'white', pulle 'bitter' in Kolami, karan 'black', puni 'new', phaṛ 'big' in Naiki, tirra 'sweet', guḍḍi 'black', capre 'unpalatable' in Parji, nallāl 'flat', kehkē 'bitter', cokkō 'good', kussum 'straight', lak 'far' in Gondi, etc.

In Brahui the adjective attribute always takes the indefinite formant (-ō) or the definite formants (-ā, -aṅgā, -īkō); devoid of these formants the adjectives may function only predicatively. E.g. balunō ināmas 'a large remuneration', pīunā 'ullī 'white horse', sunaṅgā śa'r 'desolate village', mōnīkō tū 'the next month', but kanā 'ullī jvān e 'my horse is good'.

The comparative degree is formed in Brahui by means of the suffix -tir : buṛz 'high' - buṛztir 'higher', śarr 'good' - śartir 'better'. There are no degrees of comparison in other Dravidian languages, and the comparison of nouns according to a certain feature is effected periphrastically (cf. the section on syntax).

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44 M.S.Andronov, "Tamil'sky yazyk", p. 25; M.Andronov, "A Standard Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil", pp. 125-126.

The lack of the common Dravidian adjectival suffixes clearly points to their lack in the Proto-Dravidian language as well. This fact reflects the original structure in Dravidian where the noun was not differentiated into the adjectives and substantives, each noun being able to function in the respective roles. This feature may be found even now in many modern Dravidian languages. Cf. mechā 'height', 'something high' and 'high' - mechā partā 'a high mountain', ā partā mechā ra'ī 'this mountain is something high', 'this mountain is high', xẽsõ 'blood', 'something red' and 'red' - xẽsõ kicri 'red cloth', ī kicri xẽsõ ra'ī 'this cloth is of the red colour', conhā 'love', 'something beloved' and 'beloved' - conhā xadd 'beloved child' in Kurukh; kal-l-uppů 'rock-salt' (kal 'rock') in Tamil; pon-muṛi 'golden hair' (pon 'gold') in Malayalam; mallige-hūvu 'jasmine flower' (mallige 'jasmine') in Kannada; strī-nāyakam 'women's administration' (strī 'woman') in Telugu.

This type of expressing the adjectival meaning is common to all Dravidian languages, and it is the only possible one in the ancient Dravidian texts and thus in Proto-Dravidian.

The attribute noun and the noun qualified often form compound words (the main types are tatpuruṣa and karmadhāraya). In this case the first element of the compositum does not take any grammatical formants and appears as a root or base. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as a word, neither can one speak of it as a part of speech in isolation from the compositum. Thus, in Ta. mara-p-peṭṭi 'wooden box' or peru-maẓey 'shower', 'great rain' the bases mara- and peru- are parts of compound words, but as such, in the form they appear here, they cannot be referred to any particular part of speech (cf. mara-m 'tree', mara-kka 'to stiffen', peru-mey 'large sizes', peru-xa 'to grow').

It is possible, though, that in some languages such words could later undergo decomposition, and the original roots and bases thus became independent words. This is what happened with the base oru- (orumey 'uniqueness') in Tamil which originally functioned within composita and later gave the numeral oru 'one'.

Thus, in all modern Dravidian languages, except Kurukh and possibly some others, the adjective is a separate part of speech.[45] At the same time it cannot be doubted that in the ancient Dravidian languages and naturally in Proto-Dravidian there was no distinction between the substantive and the adjective and the noun as the general grammatical category represented both.[46]

THE VERB

As a rule, the verb in the Dravidian languages distinguishes the categories of the positive-negative, mood, tense, gender and person. Non-finite forms (the participles, verbal participles, infinitives, supines, conditional verbal participles, participial and verbal nouns) are widely represented too.

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45 In this respect T.Burrow and A.Master were correct when they criticised J.Bloch in their reviews (cf. above), who asserted that there were no adjectives in the Dravidian languages ("il n'y a pas d'adjectifs proprements dits en dravidien").

46 One can hardly agree with those who consider uninflected bound morphemes like peru- as independent words constituing a separate part of speech - the adjective (cf. K.Zvelebil's review of my "Tamil'sky yazyk" in Archiv orientalni, vol. 29, pp. 705-706). Since the forms of the type peru- occur only before the sonants (as in peru-viley 'large price'), the forms of the type pēr- occur only before the vowels (as in pēr-uôavi 'great help'), and the forms of the type perum- occur before the occlusives (as in perum-bāvi 'great sinner'), they are in no way free morphemes, i.e. words and cannot thus comprise a part of speech, i.e. a word class. It is especially clear in the examples like sīṟ-ūr 'a tiny village', sīṟ-ari 'a small foot', since the words of the type *sīṟ (ending in an alveolar sound) are impossible in Tamil, and the forms of the type siru (as in pēr-/peru-) always contain a short vowel (cf. siru-nākkù 'the uvula', lit. 'the small tongue'). It is usually forgotten that only words may be classified into parts of speech rather than their parts - roots or other morphemes. The forms like peru-/pēr- , siru-/sīṟ- , not to mention sir- and per- , are not words, therefore the problem of their classification into parts of speech may even not be posed. They belong to no part of speech.

VERBAL STEMS

All verbal forms in the Dravidian languages, both finite and non-finite, consist of a verbal stem followed by suffixes which express various grammatical categories. The number of verbal stems varies from language to language. Thus, in Kannada, Kolami, Naiki, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh Malto and - with a few exceptions - Brahui all verbal forms derive from a single stem. In Parji the majority of the verbs also have a single stem, except a group of verbs which distinguish between a stem in -p (more seldom in -Ø) and a stem in -t (more seldom in -ṭ, -ñ); cf. tetip-/tetit- 'to raise', cī-/cīñ- 'to give', iḍ-/iṭṭ- 'to put'. Most of the Kodagu verbs have one stem, though some have two - one which is non-marked, and the other with the suffix -kk- ; cf. naṛa-/naṛakk- 'to go'. In Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda and Gondi verbal forms are usually derived from two stems (in Malayalam and Gondi some verbs have a single stem only). The first stem is non-marked, while the second takes the suffixes -x-, -kk- (in Tamil and Malayalam), -t-, -d- (in Gondi), -y-, -t-, -d- in Kota, as well as probably in Toda (here also -x-); cf. pō-/pōx- 'to go away', aṛi-/aṛikk- 'to beat' in Tamil and Malayalam, guh-/guht- 'to snatch', tin-/tind- 'to eat' in Gondi, vit-/vity- 'to sow', iḷv-/iḷt- 'to drag', cam-/camd- 'to finish' in Kota, půt-/půty- 'to sow', Īṣf-/Īṣt- 'to drag', pī-/půx- 'to go away' in Toda. In Tulu, where the majority of the verbs have only one stem (cf. kēṇ- 'to hear', bur- 'to drink'), there is a numerous group of verbs which derive their forms from three stems (cf. maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do'). Finally, in Telugu three-stem verbs (rakśinć-/rakśin-/rakśis- 'to guard') and four-stem verbs (cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do') occur quite frequently along with one-stem ones (koṭṭ- 'to strike'), whereas in Gadaba one-stem verbs (Īl- 'to fall') coexist with two-stem (pēp-/pēt- 'to appear'), three-stem (man-/maṭ-/may- 'to be') and four-stem verbs (sī-/sīn-/sīd-/siy- 'to give').

The Positive Form

The positive form of the verb has no special formant in the Dravidian languages.

Finite Forms

The positive finite forms of the verb in all the Dravidian languages distinguish at least two moods - the Indicative and the Imperative (as in Toda,[47] Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Konda, Kui and Kuvi). Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Parji and Malto have special forms of the Optative mood; Kota, Kodagu, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu and Brahui have the Potential (Suppositional) mood; and Kota, Telugu, Gondi, Malto and Brahui have the forms of the Conditional (Subjunctive) mood. Finally, three languages - Malayalam, Kota and Kodagu - have special forms which express obligation and are usually treated as the Obligatory mood.

The Indicative Mood

The positive form of the verb in the Indicative is characterised by the category of tense (cf. Table 8). The number of tense forms varies from two to six in separate Dravidian languages. Thus, in Kota, Toda, Old Kannada, Modern Colloquial Kannada, Telugu, Kui and Kuvi only two tenses are distinguished - the Present-Future and the Past. There are three tense forms in Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu, Modern Literary Kannada and Malto - the Present, the Future and the Past. Three tense forms exist also in Konda (the Present-Future, the Present Continuous and the Past) and Naiki (the Present-Future, the Future and the Past). Four tense forms are distinguished in Parji (the Present, the Future, the Past and the Past Continuous), Kolami (the

47 After G.U.Pope, "Outlines of the Toda Grammar".

Present-Future, the Future, the Past and the Past Continuous), Gadaba (the Present-Future, the Present Continuous, the Past and the Past Continuous) and Kurukh (the Present, the Present Continuous, the Future and the Past). Five tense forms exist in Brahui (the Present-Future, the Past, the Past Continuous, the Past Perfect and the Pluperfect), while six tense forms characterise Gondi (the Present, the Future, the Past, the Past Continuous, the Past Perfect and the Pluperfect) and Tulu (the Present, the Future, the Present-Future, the Past Continuous, the Frequentative and the Past Perfect).

The Formants of the Present

The forms of the Present occur in Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu, Kannada, Tulu, Parji, Gondi, Kurukh and Malto. They are built by adding the formants of the Present to the verb stem. In Tamil such formants are the suffixes -iṟ-, -iṉḏ- (in Old Tamil also the suffixes -iṯp- and -(u)ṓ- , whereas in the modern colloquial language and the dialects the suffixes are -(ů)r-, -ø-, -ůṓ-); in Malayalam it is the suffix -unn- ; in Kannada, -utt- ; in Kodagu, -(u)v-, -p- ; in Tulu, -uv-, -p- ; in Parji, -m- ; in Gondi, -(K)t-, -(Ī)t- ; in Kurukh, -d-, -ø-, -'- ; and in Malto -ø- .

The Present tense forms are built by adding the tense formant to the stem when the verbs distinguish one stem only (as in Kannada, Kurukh and Malto; also in the single-stem verbs in Parji, Gondi, Malayalam and Tulu); cf. māṛ- 'to do' - māṛutt-, kare- 'to call' - kareyutt- in Kannada, ee- 'to break' - esd-, es'-, es- in Kurukh, band- 'to drag', dary- 'to catch' in Malto, var- 'to come' - verm- in Parji, vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅkīt- in Gondi, būr- 'to fall' - būruv-, paṇ- 'to speak' - paṇp- in Tulu. In one case in Parji this pattern is broken: connecting vowels are used to join the Present tense formant -m- to the stem (-a- in the southern dialect, -e- in the northwestern dialect and -u- in the northwestern dialect) in all the single-stem verbs in n, r, ṛ, y or ī (the verbs with short monosyllabic stems excluded); cf. cūṛ- 'to see' - cūṛam-, cūṛem-, cūṛum- .

In case of two-stem verbs (as in Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu, Parji and Gondi) the present tense forms are always derived from the non-marked stem in Kodagu (cf. mĒṛ- 'to do' - mĒṛuv-, naṛa- 'to go' - naṛap-) and from the marked one in Gondi (cf. guh- 'to catch' - guhtĒt-). In Modern Literary Tamil the present tense formants are added to the marked stem as well: var- 'to come' - varuxiṟ-, varuxiṉḏ-, naṛa- 'to go' - naṛakkiṟ-, naṛakkiṉḏ-. In Old Tamil, as well as in the modern colloquial language and the dialects, the present tense may be derived from both stems: varuxiṟp-, varŭŏ-, var(r)- .

In Malayalam the verbs which form their marked stem by means of the suffix -kk- build their present tense forms from this stem: naṛa- 'to go' - naṛakkunn-. Other verbs have a single stem, and the present tense suffix is added to the non-marked stem: var- 'to come' - varunn- (an exception is provided by the verbs Ā- 'to become' - Ākunn-, pō- 'to go' - pōxunn-, etc.).

In case of the Parji two-stem verbs the present tense is added to the stem in -p , the latter being preceded by the euphonic -u-; cf. payp-/payt- 'to divide' - payupm- (in the northern dialects, where the stem -p changes into -k, - payukm-).

Finally, in the Tulu three-stem verbs the present tense is formed from the stem in -p ; e.g. maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpuv- .

The Formants of the Present Continuous

The Present Continuous is attested in Gadaba, Konda and Kurukh. Its formants are -sin-, -jin-, -zin- in Konda, -'Ēl(d)- in Kurukh and -ind-, -und- in Gadaba added directly to the stem (in some Gadaba verbs by means of the increments -iṅ-, -uṅ-); e.g. in Gadaba key- 'to do' - keyind-, koṭ- 'to dig' - koṭund-, Īl- 'to fall' - Īliṅind-, un- 'to drink' - unuṅind- ; in Konda kot- 'to cackle' - kotsin-, sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛjin-, tila- 'to fear' - tilazin- ; in Kurukh es- 'to break' - es'Ēld-, es'Ēl-

(in the third person masculine plural and in the first and third person non-masculine).

The Formants of the Present-Future

The present-future forms are widely represented in the Dravidian languages, namely in Kota, Toda, Old Kannada, Modern Colloquial Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Gadaba, Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Brahui.

The zero suffix characterises the Present-Future in Kota, Toda and Brahui (the prefix a- is usually added to these forms in the latter), in other languages the present-future suffixes are as follows: -uv- in Old Kannada, -(a)t- in Modern Colloquial Kannada, -ēv- in Tulu, -eda-, -udu-, -(eṛ)u-, -eṛi- in Old Telugu, -(u)t- in Modern Telugu, -at- and -Ø- in Kolami, -ent- in Naiki, -d- and -Ø- in Gadaba, -n- in Konda and -d-, -n- and -Ø- in Kui and Kuvi; cf. the present-future forms from the single-stem verbs: bin- 'to listen', tix- 'to put' - (a)bin-, (a)tix- in Brahui, kuṛ- 'to give' - kuṛuv- in Old Kannada, bar- 'to come' - bart-, barat- (in the third person neuter singular) in Modern Colloquial Kannada, vaṇḍ- 'to cook' - vaṇḍeda-/vaṇḍudu-, vaṇḍeṛu-/vaṇḍeṛi-/vaṇḍu- (in the third person singular masculine and non-masculine and in the third person plural neuter) in Old Telugu, koṭṭ- 'to strike' - koṭṭut- in Modern Telugu, sī- 'to do' - sīat-, sī- (in the third person) in Kolami, puc- 'to open' - pucent- in Naiki, vaṇḍ- 'to cook' - vaṇḍd-, var-/van-/vad- 'to come' - vad-, tin-/tiṇḍ-/tiy- 'to eat' - tiy- in Gadaba, sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛn- in Konda, tak- 'to walk' - takin-, takid- (in the second person), taki- (in the first person singular) in Kui (where -i- is a connecting vowel), pēy- 'to beat' - pēyit-, pēyid- (in the second person), pēyi- (in the first person singular) in Kuvi (where -i- is a connecting vowel).[48]

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48 In Kui and Kuvi with their objective conjugation in the transitive verbs the tense formants may be added to the stems with the objective formants (-a-, -ta-, -da-, -ra-, -ja- in Kui and -a-, -ta-, -ha-, -ja- in Kuvi); cf. sī-

The present-future forms of the two-stem verbs are derived either from the non-marked stem (as in Toda; e.g. půx-/pī- 'to go' - pī-) or from the marked one (as in Kota; e.g. vit-/vity- 'to sow' - vity-, iv-/ivt- 'to pull up' - ivt-, niv-/nivd- 'to rub' - nivd-).

The present-future suffix -t- is added to the stems in -s in three- and four-stem Telugu verbs; cf. rakśinć-/rakśin-/rakśis- 'to guard' - rakśist-, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēst-.

The present-future form in Tulu carries an additional meaning of a frequentative action. It is formed by means of the two-morpheme suffix -ēv- (where -ē- is the frequentative formant and -v- <-uv- is the tense formant) added to the stem (in the three-stem verbs to the stem in -p); e.g. būr- 'to fall' - būrēv-, kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇēv-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpēv-.

The Formants of the Future

The forms of the Future tense are distinguished in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gondi, Kurukh and Malto. These forms are built by means of the following suffixes: -v-, -b-, -pp-, -Ø-, -m- in Tamil, -Ø- in Malayalam, -uv- in Kannada, -(u)v-, -p-, -Ø- in Kodagu, -(u)v-, -ůmb-, -Ø- in Tulu, -dat-, -d- in Kolami, -at-, -d-, -Ø- in Naiki, -r- (in single-stem verbs), -Ø- (in two-stem verbs) in Parji, -k-, -ēk-, -īk-, -ān-, -Ø- in Gondi, -'- in Kurukh and -Ø- in Malto. Cf. in single-stem verbs māṛ- 'to do' - māṛuv-, kare- 'to call' - kareyuv- in Kannada, par- 'to drink' - paruv-, tū- 'to see' - tūv-, kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇ-, kēṇůmb- in Tulu, sī- 'to give' - sīdat- (in the first and second persons), sīd- (in the third person) in Kolami, kak- 'to do' - kakat- (in the first and second persons), kakd- (in the third person masculine and the third person non-masculine plural), kak- (in the third person non-masculine singular) in Naiki, cūṛ- 'to see' - cūṛr-

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'to give' - sīan-, sīad, sīa- in Kui, hī- 'to give' - hīyan-, hīyad-, hīya- in Kuvi.

in Parji, vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅkēk- (in the 1st and 2nd persons), vaṅkēn- (in the 3rd person masculine singular and the 3rd person non-masculine plural), vaṅk- (in the 3rd person non-masculine singular) in Gondi, es- 'to break' - es'- in Kurukh, band- 'to drag', dary- 'to catch' in Malto.

In Tamil the formants of the Future -v-, -b-, -pp- and -m- (in the old language) are, as a rule, added to the non-marked stem; e.g. sey- 'to do' - seyv-, eṉ- 'to speak' - eṉb-, eṉm-, naṟa- 'to walk' - naṟapp-. The suffix -v- is an exception in Old Tamil, where it could also be added to the marked stem: seyxuv-, eṉguv- (where -u- is a connecting vowel). The future forms with the zero suffix are, on the other hand, usually derived from the marked stem: seyx-, eṉg-, naṟakk-. Here the forms of the third person neuter from the verbs with the marked stem in -x- (-g- after the nasal sonants) provide an exception: they are derived from the unmarked stem in the modern language (sey-, eṉ-).

In Malayalam the future forms with the zero suffix are derived from the same stems as the present tense forms; e.g. cey- 'to do' - cey-, naṟa- 'to go' - naṟakk-.

The two-stem Kodagu verbs take the future tense formant -p- in the first and second persons singular and the second person plural; this formant is joined to the non-marked stem; other forms use the zero suffix added to the marked stem: naṟa- 'to go' - naṟap-, naṟakk-. In the Parji two-stem verbs the Future is formed from the stem in -t-; cf. payp-/payt- 'to divide' - payt-. In the Gondi two-stem verbs the future tense formants are in most cases added to the marked stem (except the first and second person forms in the verbs with the marked stem in -t-); e.g. tin-/tind- 'to eat' - tindēk- (in the 1st and 2nd persons), tindēn- (in the 3rd person masculine and the 3rd person non-masculine plural), tind- (in the 3rd person non-masculine singular), but guh-/guht- 'to catch' - guhk- (in the 1st and 2nd persons), guhtēn- (in the 3rd person masculine and the 3rd person non-masculine plural), guht- (in the 3rd person non-masculine singular).

The zero formant of the future tense is added to the stem in -p in the Tulu three-stem verbs: maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do - maḷp-.

The Formants of the Past

The past tense (the simple past, praeteritum) exists in all the Dravidian languages except Tulu. The forms of this tense are built by means of the following suffixes: -t(t)- (coll. also -c-), -nd- (coll. also -ñj-), -i- (old also -Ti-) in Tamil, -t(t)-, -cc-, -nd-, -nn-, ññ-, -i- in Malayalam, -v-, -uk-, in Kota, -y-, -t-, -d-, -ć-, -s-, -i-, in Toda, -(i)d- in Kannada, -t-, -nd, -j-, -un-, -Ø- in Kodagu, -(i)ti-, -e- (in the 3rd person singular and the 3rd person plural neuter) in Old Telugu, -(i)n-, -ṟ- in Modern Telugu, -t- in Kolami and Naiki, -Ø-, -t-, in Parji, -Ø- in Gadaba, -t- in Gondi, Konda, Kui and Kuvi, -k-, -'-, -y-, -ck, -c'-, -lk-, -j'- in Kurukh, -(e)k-, -Ø- in Malto, -k-, -(i)s-, -ṟ-, -ṟ- in Brahui. These suffixes are added to the non-marked stem in all languages except Kota (as well as the two-stem Parji verbs and multi-stem Telugu verbs); cf. paṛi- 'to read' - paṛitt- (coll. paṛic-), teri- 'to be known' - terind- (coll. teriñj-), pēs- 'to speak' - pēsi-, koḷ- 'to take' - kaḷTi- in Tamil, tir- 'to end' - tīrtt-, aṛi- 'to beat' - aṛiee-, nō- 'to be ill' - nond- (with a short vowel in the root), kiṛa- 'to lie' - kiṛann-, paṛa- 'to speak' - paṛaṇṇ-, mārr- 'to change' - mārṛṛi- in Malayalam, piṛ-/piṛc- 'to catch' - piṛev-, piṛcuk- (in the 3rd person in -ō: piṛcukō 'he caught') in Kota, ūṛt- 'to sit someone' - ūṛty-, kaṛ- 'to milk' - kaṛe-, pī- 'to go' - pīś- in Toda, mār- 'to do' - mārid-, kare- 'to call' - kared- in Kannada, oṛe- 'to break' - oṛet-, naṛa- 'to walk' - naṛand-, poy- 'to beat' - pejj-, mār- 'to do' - mārum- (in the 1st person sigular), mār- in Kodagu, koṭṭ- 'to strike' - koṭṭiti-, koṭṭe- (Old), koṭṭin-, kottō- (Mod.), tin- 'to eat' - tinn-, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēsin-, cēsti-, ceṣṭ- in Telugu, ayak- 'to sweep' - ayakt-, sī- 'to do' - sīt- in Kolami, kak- 'to do' - kakt- in Naiki, cūr- 'to see' - cūr-, cūṛat- (south.

dial.), cūṛet- (northwestern dial.), payp-/payt- 'to divide' - payt- in Parji, sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛ in Gadaba, vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅkt- guh- 'to catch' - guht-, vā- 'to come' - vāt- in Gondi, sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛt- in Konda, trē- 'to walk' - trēt- (in the objective conjugation: sī- 'to give' - sīat-) in Kui, hī- 'to give' - hīt- (in the objective conjugation: hīyat-) in Kuvi, es- 'to break' - esk-, es'-, ān- 'to speak' - ānk-, āny-, bar- 'to come' - barck-, barc'-, nan- 'to do' - nañjk-, nañj'- in Kurukh, band- 'to drag' - bandek-, band- (in the 3rd person) in Malto, xal- 'to strike', - xalk- bār- 'to dry' - bāris-, bin- 'to listen' - binā-, dar- 'to take away' - darē- in Brahui.

The choice of a particular past tense formant is governed by the form of the verb (gender, number and person), the dialectal and stylistic features of the utterance, as well as by the type of verbal stem and specific idiomatic characteristics.

The overall picture of the past in the Dravidian languages becomes even more complicated if one considers numerous cases of consonantal assimilation and substitution which accompany the addition of the past formants to the stems; cf. eṉ- 'to speak' - eṉd-, kēḷ- 'to listen' - kēṭṭ- in Tamil, cel- 'to go' - cenn-, vāẓ- 'to live' - vāṇ- in Malayalam, ir- 'to be - idd-, iṛ- 'to put' - iṭṭ-, bē- 'to burn' - bend-, nag- 'to laugh' - nakk- in Kannada, tūl- 'to run' - tūṭ-, iḍ- 'to speak' - iṭṭ- in Kolami, ver- 'to come' - veñ-, kud- 'to cut' - kutt- in Parji, tin- 'to eat' - tind- in Gondi, sōl- 'to enter' - sōṭ-, jel- 'to pull' - jes-, tin- 'to eat' - tis- in Kui, tōh- 'to show' - tōst-, ḍik- 'to break' - ḍikj-, ven- 'to listen' - vecc- in Kuvi, dary- 'to catch' - darc(k)- in Malto, etc.

The Formants of the Past Continuous

The Past Continuous Forms are used in Tulu, Kolami, Parji, Gadaba, Gondi and Brahui.

In Tulu the Past Continuous formants -t- (-ḍ- after the stems in -ṇ), -i- (after the stems in -r), -y-

(after the stems in a vowel) are always added to the non-marked stem; e.g. maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷt-, paṇ- 'to speak' - paṇḍ-, par- 'to drink' - pari-, tū- 'to see' - tūy-.

In Kolami the Past Continuous formants -d-, -n-, -Ø- are added to the stem: sī- ' to give' - sīd- (in the first person), sīn- (in the second person, in the third person masculine and the third person non-masculine plural), sī- (in the third person non-masculine singular).

The Gondi Past Continuous formant -and- (-nd- after the stems in a vowel, and -d- after the stems in -n) is also always added to the non-marked stem: guh-/guht- 'to snatch' - guhand-, vā- 'to come' - vānd-, tin- 'to eat' - tind-.

The Gadaba Past Continuous formants -in-, -un- are either added directly to the stem (e.g. sūr- 'to see' - sūṛun-) or through the increments -iṅ-, -uṅ- (cf. Il- 'to fall' - Iliṅin-, un- 'to drink' - unuṅin-).

The formants of the Past Continuous in Parji and Brahui do not differ from the formants of the Future and the Past respectively; cf. cūṛ- 'to see' - cūṛr- in Parji and xal- 'to strike' and xalk- in Brahui. (The forms of this tense differ from the forms of the Future in Parji and the Past in Brahui in that their personal endings are different, a special prefix - a- - being usually added in Brahui; cf. cūṛran 'I shall see'/cūṛrin 'I saw' in Parji, xalkuṭ 'I struck'/(a)xalkuṭa 'I was striking' in Brahui).

The Formants of the Past Frequentative

The Past Frequentative forms are found in Tulu only. This tense is built by means of the two-morpheme suffix -ēd- (where -ē- is the frequentative formant and -d- is the tense suffix) joined to the stem (in the three-stem verbs to the stem in -p); e.g. kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇēd-, būr- 'to fall' - būrēd-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpēd-.

The Formants of the Past Perfect

The forms of the Past Perfect are distinguished in Tulu, Gondi and Brahui. In Tulu the suffixes -t-, -ud-, -ůd- (in the three-stem verbs obtained from the stem in -t) are used to form this tense; e.g. par- 'to drink' - part-, paṇ- 'to speak' - paṇt-, tū- 'to see' - tūt-, būr- 'to fall' - būrud-, kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇůd-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to go' - maḷtůd-.

In Gondi the suffix -t- functions as the formant of both the Past and the Past Perfect; it is added to the non-marked stem in all the verbs; e.g. vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅkt-, vā- 'to come' - vāt-, guh-/guht- 'to snatch' - guht-, tin- 'to eat' - titt-. (The difference between the forms of the Past Perfect and the Past lies in the personal inflexions; cf. guhtān 'I snatched /in the past/ - guhtōnā 'I have /already/ snatched /and continue to hold/').

The forms of the Past Perfect in Brahui are built by means of the suffix -n- (-un- after the consonants) added to the formant of the Past; cf. max- 'to laugh' - maxān-, xal- 'to strice' - xalkun-.

The Formants of the Pluperfect

The Pluperfect is distinguished in Gondi and Brahui only.

The Gondi Pluperfect is formed by means of the suffixes -cīt-, sīt-, jīt- (after the stems in -n -ñ) from the non-marked stems only; cf. vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅksīt-, vā- 'to come' - vāsīt-, guh-/guht- 'to snatch' - guhcīt-, tin- 'to eat' - tiñjīt-.[49]

The Brahui Pluperfect forms have the formants -us- (or -as-), -s- (after the vowels) added to the formant of the Past; cf. xal- 'to strike' - xalkus-, xalkas-, max- 'to laugh' - maxās-, taf- 'to bind' - tafēs-.

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49 These Gondi forms are of a recent origin. They appeard as a result of the contraction of the combinations of the past verbal participle with the finite forms of the verb man- 'to be' in the Past Perfect; e.g. vāsītōnā 'I had come' from vāsī mattōnā 'having come I was', guhcīṭōnā 'I snatched' from guhci mattōnā 'having caught I was', etc.

The Comparative Characteristics of the Tense Forms

At present there is no definite answer to the question of the original number of the non-past tenses in the Dravidian languages. Evidently the Gadaba, Konda and Kurukh Present Continuous as well as the Tulu Present-Future Frequentative do not constitute the oldest forms of the Dravidian tense system. That this is so is shown by the composite nature of most of their formants, which include, as a rule, the formants of other tenses (cf. e.g. -ind-, -und- in Gadaba, -sin-, -jin-, -zin- in Konda, -'ēl(d)- in Kurukh, with -d-, -Ø- in the Present-Future in Gadaba and -n- in Konda, and -d-, -'-, -Ø- in the Present and -'- in the Future in Kurukh); besides the synthetic expression of aspectual meanings is not typical of the Dravidian verb. Moreover the Future tense formants in Naiki (-at-, -d-, -Ø-) are significantly similar to the Present-Future formants in Kolami (-at-, -Ø-) and Gadaba (-d-, -Ø-), whereas the Naiki Present-Future formant -ent- resembles the Present Continuous formant in Gadaba (-ind-, -und-). Finally, the Tulu Present-Future Frequentative in -ēv- is, undoubtedly, of a late origin from either the Present or the Future.

Data from Southern Dravidian languages reveal that the distinction between the Present and the Future is of a recent origin there; the Tamil Present tense suffix -ind- goes back to an independent verb,[50] the same is true of the Present tense formants in Kannada[51] and Malayalam. The Present tense formants in Kodagu (-v-, -p-) and Tulu (-uv-, -p-) resemble strongly the formants of the Future (-v-, -p-, -Ø- and -(u)v-, -ûmb-, -Ø- respectively); outside the Southern group they coincide also in Malto (-Ø-) and partly in Kurukh (-'-). Finally, parallels to the Present tense suffix in Gondi (-t-) and Kurukh (-d-, -Ø-) are attested in

50 M.Andronov, "Hints Regarding the Origin of the Present Tense Suffix -kinr- in Tamil", TC, 9, 1961, No. 2.
51 F.Kittel, "A Grammar of the Kannada Language", Mangalore, 1903.

Table 8

Tense Suffixes of the Indicative Mood

	Pr.	Pr.C.	Pr.-F.	F.	P.	P.C.	P.F.	P.P.	Plup.
Ta.	-i<u>r</u>- -i<u>nd</u>- -i<u>t</u>p- -(u)δ- (O.) -(u̇)r- -Ø- (coll.) -(u̇)δ- (S.)			-v- -b- -pp- -Ø-	-(t)t- -nd- -i- -ī- (O.) -c- -ñj- (coll.)				
Ma.	-unn-				-(t)t- -cc- -nd- -nn- -ññ- -i-				
Ko.				-Ø-	-v- -uk-				
To.				-Ø-	-y- -t- -d- -ć- -s- -i-				
Ka.	-utt- (M.)		-uv- (O.) -(a)t- (coll.)	-uv- (M.)	-(i)d-				
Kod.	-(u)v- -p-			-(u)v- -p- -Ø-	-t- -nd- -j- -un- -Ø-				
Tu.	-uv- -p-		-ēv-	-(u)v- -u̇mb- -Ø-		-t- -ḍ- -i- -y-	-ēd-	-t- -ud- -u̇d-	
Te.			-(u)t- (M.) -(u)du- -u- -eṛu- -eṛi- -eda- (O.)		-ā- -(i)n- (M.) -(i)ti- (O.)				

Kol.			-at- -Ø-	-dat- -d-	-t-	-d- -n- -Ø-			
Nk.			-ent-	-at- -d- -Ø-	-t-				
Pa.	-m-			-r- -Ø-	-Ø- -t-	-r- -Ø-			
Ga.		-ind- -und-	-d- -Ø-		-Ø-	-in- -un-			
Go.	-(ɪ)t- -(I)t-			-k- -ɪk- -Ik- -ɪn- -Ø-	-t-	-(a)nd- -d-		-t-	-cIt- -sIt- -jIt-
Kon.		-sin- -jin- -zin-	-n-		-t-				
Kui			-d- -n- -Ø-		-t-				
Ku.			-d- -n- -Ø-		-t-				
Kur.	-d- -Ø- -'-	-'ɪld- -'ɪl-		-'-	-'- -y- -ck- -c'- -jk- -j'-				
Mal.	-Ø-			-Ø-	-(e)k- -Ø-				
Br.			-Ø-		-k- -(i)s- -ɪ- -ɪ-	-k- -(i)s- -ɪ- -ɪ-		-kun- -(i)sun- -ɪn- -ɪn-	-kus- -kas- -(i)sus- -(i)sas- -ɪs- -ɪs-

the Present-Future forms in Telugu and in the languages of the central group.

Of the four common Dravidian Present (Present-Future) tense suffixes - -Ø-, -k-, -t-, -v- - the latter is limited to the languages of the Southern groups; it developed apparently after the separation of the Andhra group as it does not occur in Telugu.[52] The development of this suffix might have been connected with the voiding of the suffix -k-, which became the stem suffix in these languages. This is borne out by the possibility of optionally adding the suffix -v- to the suffix -k- (in Old Tamil) cf. aṟixēṉ, aṟivēṉ or aṟixuvēṉ 'I shall know'(with -x- from -k-). As far as the suffix *-t- is concerned, even if there is any connection between the suffix -t- of the first and second persons attested in some ancient Tamil texts as well as in its Southern dialect[53] and the suffix -t- of the Central group,[54] the development of this suffix is of a late date; its absence in Brahui and Malto shows that it appeared in the period when the disintegration of the Proto-Dravidian was already in full progress.[55]

Thus, there are only two common formants of the Present (Present-Future) tense in the Dravidian languages: *-Ø- and *-k-. Both may be traced back to the period of the common Dravidian unity. The first suffix is attested in all Dravidian languages except Kannada, Telugu and Konda, while the second is preserved in Gondi and Kurukh, its residual traces being also found in many other languages within verbal stems (cf. koṟukkum 'will give' in Tamil and Malayalam, taken 'I shall give' in Kota,

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52 More about the disintegration of the Proto-Dravidian unity cf. in M.Andronov, "Lexicostatistic analysis of the chronology of disintegration of Proto-Dravidian", IIJ, 7, 1953, Nos. 2-3, pp. 170-186.

53 M.Andronov, "A Standard Grammar of Modern and Classical Tamil", Madras, 1969; M.Andronov, "Razgovorny tamil'sky yazyk i ego dialekty", Moscow, 1962, p. 31.

54 This is disproved by the absence of this suffix or its reflex in other southern group languages.

55 M.Andronov, "Lexicostatistic Analysis of the Chronology of disintegration of Proto-Dravidian", IIJ, 7, 1963, Nos. 2-3, pp. 170-186.

payukmen 'I divide' in the Northen dialect of Parji, etc.)

Three suffixes, *-i-, *-s- and *-t-, usually express the Past in the verbal forms of the Dravidian languages. "For Proto-Dravidian it is necessary to identify several past tense suffixes... They are -i-, a dental stop with several phonologically determined allomorphs, and a sibilant or c form",[56] M.B.Emeneau points out in this connection. These formants occur not only in finite forms alone but in the participle and the verbal participle as well.

The past tense suffix -i- is well preserved in the Dravidian languages of the Southern group; cf. the finite forms pāṟiṉēṉ 'I sang' in Tamil, pāṟi 'sang' in Malayalam, būriye 'I fell' in Tulu, the verbal participles māṟi 'having done' in Kannada, the Past tense stems tap-i- 'to avoid' in Kodagu, tap-y- 'to make a mistake' in Kota, kub-y- 'to shout' in Toda, etc. The suffix *-i- may be traced in its modified or residual form outside the Southern group as well (sometimes combined with other Past tense formants); cf. vāsītōnā 'I came', guhcī 'having snatched' in Gondi, kani 'having seen' in Telugu, veni 'having heard' in Parji, pati 'having caught' in Gadaba, as well as in the Past tense stems ān-y- 'to speak' in Kurukh, bār-i-s- 'to dry' in Brahui.

On the other hand, the Past tense suffix -s- (other modified as a result of assimilation or other factors) is best represented outside the Southern group, i.e. in the languages of the Northwestern, Northeastern and Gondwana groups; cf. bar-/ban- 'to come' - bass 'came' in Brahui, barcas 'he came' in Kurukh, vaṅksī 'having said', guhcī 'having caught', tiñjī 'having eaten' in Gondi, tōssa 'having shown', veca 'having beaten', veñja 'having heard', ḍikha 'having broken' in Kuvi, darc 'having caught' in Malto, etc.

The Past tense suffix *-t- is well represented in the languages of the Gondwana, Central and Southern groups; cf. paṟittēṉ 'I have read' in Tamil, ceyōu 'I have done, did'

56 M.B.Emeneau, "Toda - a Dravidian Language", TPS, 1957, p. 35.

in Malayalam, kāte 'I guarded' in Kodagu, maḷte 'I have done, did' in Tulu, sītan 'I have given, gave' in Kolami, kaktan 'I have done, did' in Naiki, kutted 'he (has) cut' in Parji, vātān 'I came' in Gondi, kita 'I did' in Konda, vāte 'I have come' in Kui, hītesi 'he has given, gave' in Kuvi.

No definite conclusions about semantic and chronological relations between these suffixes in the Proto-Dravidian epoch can be reached at the present level of the Dravidian studies. The suffix *-i- traced in the languages of all the groups seems to have been the most widely distributed and archaic. The suffixes *-s- and *-t- appear to have different dialectal distribution, at any rate in late Proto-Dravidian, *-s- being represented in the parent dialect of the modern languages of the Northwestern and Northeastern groups, and *-t- occurring in the parent dialect of other groups. Both suffixes are represented in the Gondwana group of languages, of these *-t- is much more commonly used than *-s-, which is generally of a residual character and is often not connected immediately with the meaning of the Past. This suggests that *-s- might be more archaic of the two, while *-t-, which is not attested in Brahui, Malto and Kurukh, appeard already after the disintegration of Proto-Dravidian and separation of the Northwestern and Northeastern groups.[57] Indirect evidence of this may be found in the optional use of the suffix *-i- (in the long form -īi-) instead of the usual *-t- in some non-finite Tamil verb forms at the earliest stage of the language (cf. koḷīi 'having taken' instead of koṇḍū from koḷ- + -t- + -ū, koḷīiya 'who took', 'taken' instead of koṇḍa, etc.), as well as in the frequent omission of this suffix in certain verb forms in the languages where this suffix appears together with the archaic Past tense suffix -i-, the latter being preserved in this case (cf. mārīdenu 'I have done, did', mārīda 'who has done', but

57 More about the disintegration of Proto-Dravidian cf. in M.Andronov, "Lexicostatistic Analysis of the Chronology of Disintegration of Proto-Dravidian", IIJ, 7, 1963, Nos. 2-3.

mēṛi 'having done' in Kannada, cēsitini 'I did', but cēsi 'having done' in Telugu, etc.).

The Imperative Mood

Every language, except Kannada and Tulu, possesses the Imperative. It has no special formant, and tense forms are not distinguished. The forms of person are built by means of special personal suffixes added to the stem (in the Parji and Gadaba two-stem verbs, to the stem in -p; in the Telugu and Gadaba multi-stem verbs, to various stems; in other verbs, to the non-marked stem, except the Malayalam two-stem verbs, where the personal suffixes are joined to the stems in -kk-); cf. sey-/seyx- 'to do' - sey- in Tamil, culp-/cult- 'to rise' - culp- in Parji, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēy-, cey- (in the singular) and cē- (in the plural) in Telugu, kēḷ-/kēḷkk- 'to listen' - kēḷkk- in Malayalam.

The Optative Mood

The Optative is distinguished in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Parji and Malto.

In Tamil and Malayalam the Optative forms do not distinguish person, number and gender and are built by means of the suffix -aṭṭum (in Tamil) and -aṭṭe (in Malayalam) from the stem in -kk- or from the non-marked stem (in most verbs with the marked stem in -x-); cf. kiṛa-/kiṛakk- 'to lie' - kiṛakkaṭṭum, kiṛakkaṭṭe 'let (it) lie', pō-/pōx- 'to leave' - pōxaṭṭum, pōvaṭṭe 'let (it) go'. In Old Tamil the Optative was formed from the same stems by means of the suffix -(u)xa; cf. sey-/seyx- 'to do' - seyxa 'let (it) do', naṛa-/naṛakk- 'to go' - naṛakkuxa 'let (it) go'.

In Kota the Optative formant is the suffix -k-/-g- added to the non-marked stem of the verb.

In Parji the Optative has the following suffixes: -ek-, -ok-, -ut-; cf. cūṛ- 'to look' - cūṛek- (in the 1st person singular and in the 3rd person masculine), cūṛok-

(in the 3rd person non-masculine), cūṟut- (in the 2nd person and the 1st person plural).

In Kodagu, Kannada, Tulu and Malto the Optative has the zero formant: mār- 'to do' (Kannada and Kodagu), band- 'to drag', dary- 'to catch' (Malto), maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷp- (Tulu).

The Potential Mood

The Potential (or Suppositional) Mood in the Dravidian languages expresses an action which is potential or probable; the forms of this mood are found in Kota, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Telugu and Brahui.

The Potential Mood in Brahui has no special formant (or it has the zero formant) and it differs from the forms of the Present-Future Tense Indicative in that each of the two tenses of the Potential Mood possesses special personal suffixes added directly to the stem (cf. bin- 'to listen').

The suffixes -d-, *-t-, -i-, -y-, -Ø- serve as the Potential Mood formants in Kannada; cf. kare- 'to call' - kared-, biṟ- 'to leave' - biṭṭ-, mār- 'to do' - māṟi-, māḍy-, mār-.

The Potential Mood in Kota, Tulu and Telugu is formed by means of the suffixes -k- in Kota, -udv-, -(u)tv-, -ūdv- in Tulu and -ē- in Telugu added to the marked stem in Kota, to the stem in -t in the Tulu three-stem verbs and to the stem in -s in the Telugu multi-stem verbs; e.g. maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷtūdv-, būr- 'to fall' - būrudv-, tū- 'to see' - tūtv-, paṇ- 'to speak' - paṇūtv- in Tulu, koṭṭ- 'to strike' - koṭṭē-, cēt-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēsē- in Telugu. In the Kodagu Potential Mood, person, gender and number are not distinguished. It is formed by adding the suffix -alu to the stem (to the stem in -k in the two-stem verbs); e.g. mār- 'to do' - māṟalu, oṟe-/oṟekk- 'to break' - oṟekalu.

The Conditional Mood

The forms of the Conditional (Subjunctive) Mood are attested in Kota, Telugu, Gondi, Malto and Brahui. The Conditional Mood is formed by means of the suffixes -c- in Kota, -(u)du-, -u- (in the 3rd person singular and the 3rd person plural neuter) in Telugu, -ē-, -v- (in the 3rd person non-masculine) in Gondi, -l- in Malto and -ōs- in Brahui added to the verb stem (in the Gondi two-stem verbs the Conditional Mood suffixes are added to the non-marked stem; in the Kota two-stem verbs, to the marked stem; and in the Telugu multi-stem verbs, to the stems in -s); e.g. bin- 'to listen' - binōs- in Brahui, band- 'to drag' - bandl- in Malto, var-/vad- 'to come' - vadc- in Kota, guh-/guht- 'to catch' - guhē-, guhv- in Gondi, koṭṭ- 'to strike' - koṭṭud-, koṭṭu-, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cētu- (from cēs- + -du), cēsu- in Telugu.

The Obligatory Mood

The Obligatory Mood, which expresses the necessity of an action, is attested in only three Dravidian languages - Malayalam, Kota and Kodagu. These forms do not distinguish person, number and gender and are built by means of the following suffixes: -(ē)ṇam, -ēṇḍu(m) in Malayalam, -vōṛō in Kota and -aṇḍu in Kodagu. The suffixes are joined directly to the verb stem: in the Kodagu and Malayalam two-stem verbs, to the marked stem in -kk- (in Kodagu -k-) or to the non-marked stem (in the Kota verbs and in the Malayalam verbs with the marked stem in -x-); e.g. mār- 'to do' - māraṇḍu, oṛe- 'to break' - oṛekaṇḍu in Kodagu and iḷax- 'to move) - iḷaxēṇam, naṛa-/naṛakk- 'to go' - naṛakkēṇam, naṛakkēṇḍu(m) in Malayalam.

The Formants of Person, Number and Gender

The categories of person, number and gender in the finite forms of the verb are expressed by means of the personal suffixes (cf. Table 9) added to a tense or mood formant (or to the stem if the tense or mood is expressed by the zero formant).

The finite forms of the Indicative Mood in Malayalam do not distinguish person, number and gender, i.e. each tense has only one finite form in this language; e.g. cey- 'to do' - ceyunnu 'I, thou, you, we, they do(st); he, she, it does', ceyóu 'I, you, thou, we, he, she, it, they did(st)', ceyyum 'I, thou, you,... will (wilt) do', etc. (the final -u in these forms is euphonic and appears after the consonants in the tense suffixes). In Old Malayalam finite forms of the Indicative similar to the literary and colloquial Tamil forms could be used as optional variants; cf. in the 10th-12th century epigraphic monuments: aṟi- 'to recognise' - aṟivĕn/aṟivaṉ 'I shall recognise', koṟ- 'to give' - koṟuttĕṉ 'I gave', koṟuttōm 'we gave', amey- 'to create' - ameyccĕṉ/amaccĕṉ 'he created'.

Likewise, only one form which does not distinguish person, number and gender exists in the Tamil Optative, the Malayalam Optative and Obligatory and the Kodagu Optative, Potential and Obligatory; e.g. mĕṟ- 'to do' - mĕṟaṟu 'let (them) do', mĕṟaḷu '(I, thou, he, she, we, you, they) could do/have done' - mĕṟaṇḍu '(I, thou, he, she, it, we, you, they) should(st) do' in Kodagu.

Special exclusive and inclusive forms are distinguished in the first person plural in some languages (Kota, Toda, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh and Malto); cf. pĭspem 'we (without you) went'/pĭspum 'we (with you) went' in Toda, vadcōm 'we (without you) would come'/vadcōm 'we (with you) would come' in Kota.

Apparently Old Tamil also distinguished between the exclusive forms in -ĕm and the inclusive forms in -ăm.

In Gondi the inflexions of the first and second persons in the Present, Past Perfect and Pluperfect Indicative as well as in the Conditional Mood are joined to the formants of the third person masculine; cf. guh-/guht- 'to catch' - guhtātōl 'he catches' but guhtātōnā (with -l>-n before a vowel) 'I catch', guhtātōnī 'thou catchest', guhtātōṛ 'they catch' but guhtātōṛām (incl. guhtātōṛaṭ) 'we catch', guhtātōṛīṭ 'you catch', guhtōl 'he caught' but guhtōnā 'I caught', guhcītōṛ 'they had caught' but guhcītōṛām (incl. guhcītōṛat) 'we had caught', guhēṛ '(if) they caught' but guhēṛīṭ '(if) you caught'.

Special first and second person forms used only in women's conversation with one another occur in the Kurukh Present, Past and Present Continuous Indicative as well as in the Imperative (elements of the female language); cf. es- 'to break' - es'ēn 'I (fem.) break', isdī 'thou (fem.) breakest', es'ēm 'we (fem.) break', esdai 'you (fem.) break' (cf. respectively esdan, esdai, esdam, esdar in the common usage) or es'an 'I (fem.) broke', iskī 'thou (fem.) broke', es'am 'we (fem.) broke', eskai 'you (fem.) broke' (cf. respectively eskan, eskai, eskam, eskar in the common usage).

Sometimes the personal suffixes of the verb are called pronominal, which should point out to their origin: undoubtedly, the personal suffixes of the verb go back to the same origin as the personal pronouns and once functioned as independent words. In some cases this similarity is especially pronounced; cf. ōl vaīt-ōl 'he comes', ōṛ vaīt-ōṛ 'they come' in Gondi, aṓù seyṓ-aṓù 'it did' in Tamil, udu māṛuvudu 'it will do' in Kannada, etc.

Similarly, "the personal verbal inflections in Telugu derive from the personal pronouns" and are nothing but "truncated personal pronouns".[58] The same is largely true of other languages, although the concrete development of every individual personal suffix may sometimes be still obscure.

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58 Z.Petrunicheva, "Yazyk telugu", Moscow, 1960, p. 62.

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Indicative Mood		
			O.Ta.	M.Ta.	
				lit.	coll.
Singular	1st Person		-ĕn -an (P.,F.) -al (F.) -Ø (F.)	-ān	-ī -īn (b.v.) -ān (C.)
Singular	2nd Person		-āy -ey -ĭ (Pr.)	-āy	-ī -i (b.v.) -ĭ (C.,Pr.,P.)
Singular	3rd Person	masc.	-ăn	-ān -an (P.)	-ā -ān (b.v.) -avan (C.)
Singular	3rd Person	fem.	-ăl	-āl -al (P.)	-ā -āl (b.v.) -ava (C.)
Singular	3rd Person	neut.	-aóů (Pr.,P.) -tů (P.) -um (F.) -undů (F.)	-aóů (Pr.,P.) -tů (P.) -um (F.)	-Ø (Pr.) -tů (Pr.) -aóů (P.) -ů (F.) -ců/-ci/-itů (P.)
Plural	1st Person		-ōm -ĕm -ăm -um (Pr.,F.)	-ōm	-ō -ōm/-am (b.v.)
Plural	2nd Person		-ĭr	-ĭr(xal)	-ĭyńgɛ -ĭyńgl (b.v.) -ixɛ/-iyɛ (S.) -ī/-īr (B.)
Plural	3rd Person	masc.	-ăr -a (F.)	-ār(xal) -ar (P.)	-ārů (hon.Sg.) -ăńgɛ -ăńgl (b.v.) -āxɛ/-āvɛ/-ā(l) (C.) -avar (C.) -inam (C.,Pr.) -ānuo(l) (vulg.masc.) -āluo(l) (vulg.fem.)
Plural	3rd Person	fem.			
Plural	3rd Person	neut.	-a	-a (Pr.,P.) -um (F.)	As in Singular

Table 9

in the Positive Form

Indicative Mood				
Ma.	Ko.	To.	O.Ka.	M.Ka.
-ø (Pr.,P.) -um (F.)	-ē(n)	-pin -(pe)n (i.q.)	-en	-ēne (Pr.) -īni (Pr.) -enu (P.,F
	-ī	-p -pÿ/-ty (i.q.) -c (P., i.q.)	-ay	-ī(ye) (Pr. -e (P.,F.)
	-ō(n) -ān (Pr.-F.)	-t -u (i.q.)	-an -on	-āne (Pr.) -anu (P.,F.)
	-ō(ḷ) -āḷ (Pr.-F.)		-aḷ -oḷ	-āḷe (Pr.) -aḷu (P.,F.)
	-ō -d		-udu	-ade (P.) -itu (P. -udu (F.
	-ēm -ō(m) (incl.)	-pim -(pe)m (i.q.) -(pu)m (incl.)	-em	-ēve (P.) -īv (Pr.) -evu (P.,F.)
	-īm -īr	-tś (Pr.-F.) -ś (P.)	-ir	-īri (Pr.) -iri (P.,F.)
	-ō(r) -ār (Pr.-F.)	-t (Pr.-F.) -u (Pr.-F.,i.q.) -c (P.) -k (P.,i.q.)	-ar -or	-āre (Pr.) -aru (P.,F.)
	-ō -d		-uvu	-ave (Pr.) -avu (P.,F.)

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Indicative Mood			
			Coll. Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	O.Te.
Singular	1st Person		-ēne (Pr.-F.) -e (P.) -en (P.,b.v.)	-e (Pr.,P.) -aḷe (Pr.) -u (F.) -ŭ (P.)	-e	-nu (Pr.-F.) -ni (P.)
	2nd Person		-ī(ye) (Pr.-F.) -ē (P.)	-iya -eya	-a	-vu (Pr.-F.) -vi (P.)
	3rd Person	masc.	-ēne (Pr.-F.) -a (P.) -an (P.,b.v.)	-a(ḷa) (Pr.) -ŭ (F.) -at(t)u (P.) -ici (P.)	-e	-nu
		fem.	-ēḷe (Pr.-F.) -ḷu (P.)		-aḷů	
		neut.	-te (Pr.-F.) -itu (P.)		-ṇdů -u (F.)	
Plural	1st Person		-ēve (Pr.-F.) -vi/-vu (P.)	As in the 3rd Pers. Sg.	-a	-mu (Pr.-F.) -mi (P.)
	2nd Person		-īri (Pr.-F.) -ri (P.)	-īra -era -ara	-arů	-ru (Pr.-F.) -ri (P.)
	3rd Person	masc.	-ēre (Pr.-F.) -ru (P.)	As in the 3rd Pers. Sg.	-erů	-ru (Pr.-F.) -ri (P.)
		fem.				
		neut.	-ve (Pr.-F.) -vu (P.)		-a	-nu

Table 9 (continued)

in the Positive Form

Indicative Mood					
M.Te.	Kol.	Nk.	Pa.		
			Pr. & P.	F.	P.C.
-ānu -nu (P. in -ā-)	-un (F., Pr.-F.,P.C.) -an (P.)	-an (Pr.-F.,P.) -un (F.)	-en -on (S.)	-an	-in
-āvu -vu (P. in -ā-)	-iv	-i	-ot	-at	-ut
-āṛu -ṛu (P. in -ā-)	-an (F., Pr.-F.) -en (P.,P.C.)	-en (Pr.-F.,P.) -an (F.)	-ed -od (S.)	-ad	-id
-undi Pr.-F.) -(a)di (P.)	-a(d) (Pr.-F.,F.) -un (P.C.) -in (P.)	-un (Pr.-F.,P.) -an (F.)	-o(to) -ata (S.)	-a	-u
-āmu -mu (P. in -ā-)	-um (Pr.-F.,F.,P.C.) -am (P.)	-am (Pr.-F.,P.) -um (F.)	-om	-am	-um
-āru -ru (P. in -ā-)	-ir	-ir	-or	-ar	-ur
-āru -ru (P. in -ā-)	-ar (Pr.-F.,F.) -er (P.,P.C.)	-er (Pr.-F.,P.) -ar (F.)	-er -or (S.)	-ar	-ir
-āyi -yi (P. in -ā-) -avi (P. in -in-)	-av (Pr.-F.,F.) -ev (P.,P.C.)	-e (Pr.-F.,P.) -a (F.)	-ov	-av	-uv

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Indicative Mood				
			Gadaba			Go.	Kon.
			Pr-F. &Pr.C.	P. in one-stem verbs	P. & P.C.		
Singular	1st Person		-an	-en	-on	-ä (Pr.,F., P.P.,Plup.) -än (P.) -an (P.C.)	-a
Singular	2nd Person		-aṭ	-eṭ	-oṭ	-ī	-i
Singular	3rd Person	masc.	-aṇḍ	-eṇḍ	-oṇḍ	-ōl (Pr.,P.P., Plup.) -ul (F.,P.,P.C.)	-an
Singular	3rd Person	fem. / neut.	-a	-eṭe	-e	-ä (Pr.,P.P., Plup.) -al (F.) -ø (P.,P.C.)	-at
Plural	1st Person		-am	-em	-om	-äm -ōm (F.) -aṭ (incl.)	-ap
Plural	2nd Person		-ar	-er	-or	-īṭ	-ider
Plural	3rd Person	masc.	-ar	-er	-or	-ōṛ (Pr.,P.P., Plup.) -uṛ (F.,P.,P.C.)	-ar
Plural	3rd Person	fem.				-äṅg (Pr.,P.P., Plup.) -uṅg (F.,P.,P.C.)	-e
Plural	3rd Person	neut.	-av	-eṭev	-ev		

Table 9 (continued)

in the Positive Form

Indicative Mood				
Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.	Br.
-i (Pr.-F.) -e (P.)	-'ĩ/-'ini (Pr.-F.) -e'ẽ (P.)	-an -ɔ̃n (fem.) -on (F.)	-en -in (Pr.)	-iva (Pr.-F.) -(u)ṭ (P., P.P., Plup.) -(u)ṭa (P.C.)
-i	-i	-ai -i (fem.) -oe (F.)	-ne (Pr.) -ni (fem.,Pr.) -ene (F.) -eni (fem.,F.) -e (P.) -i (fem. P.)	-isa (Pr.-F.) -(u)s (P., P.P., Plup.) -(u)sa (P.C.)
-eñju	-esi	-as -ɔ̃s (F.)	-ih (Pr.) -ah (P.) -eh (F.)	-ik (Pr.-F.) -ø (F.) -e (P.P.) -(a)ka (P.C.) -as (Plup.)
-e	-e	-ĩ (Pr.,Pr.C.) -ẽ (P.) -ɔ̃ (F.)	-iɔ́ (Pr.) -aɔ́ (P.) -eniɔ́ (F.)	
-amu -asu (incl.)	-omi/-ami -o/-a (incl.)	-am -em (fem.) -aṭ (incl.)	-em -im (Pr.) -et (incl.) -it (incl.,Pr.)	-ina (Pr.-F.) -(u)n (P., P.P., Plup.) -(u)na (P.C.)
-eru	-eri	-ar -ai (fem.) -or (F.)	-er -ner (Pr.)	-ire (Pr.-F.) -(u)re
-eru	-eri	-nar -ar (P.) -or (F.)	-er -ner (Pr.)	-ira (Pr.-F.) -(u)r (P.) -ɔ̃ (P., P.P., Plup.) -(u)ra (P.C.)
-u	-u	-nai -ai (P.)	-	

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Imperative Mood							
			O.Ta.	M.Ta. lit.	M.Ta. coll.	Ma.	Ko.	To.	Kod.	Te.
Singular	1st Person									
	2nd Person		-ø -Ay -i	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø -u -i -(u)mu/ -(u)mi (O.)
	3rd Person	masc.								
		fem.								
		neut.								
Plural	1st Person									-(u)dAmu
	2nd Person		-um -uṅgaḷ -Ir(xaḷ) -miṉ(Ir) -miṅgaḷ	-um -uṅgaḷ	-(ú)ṅga -(ú)ṅgḷ (b.v.)	-in -min	-a	-mA	-iri	-(a)ṇḍi
	3rd Person	masc.								
		fem.								
		neut.								

Table 9 (continued)

in the Positive Form

Imperative Mood									
Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Kur.	Mal.
-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø -E -a	-Ø -E	-(a)mu	-(a)mu -'mu	-E -'ai (fem.)	
				-Il					-a -ova -oka -ku
		-am -ar (incl.)							
-ur	-ur	-ur	-Ø -ur	-(a)ṭ	-naṭ	-(a)ṭu -(a)du	-(a)du -'du		
				-Iṛ					

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Imp.	Optative Mood						
			Br.	O.Ta.	M.Ta.	Ma.	Ko.	Ka.	Kod.	Tu.
Singular	1st Person			-(u)xa	-(u)xa -aṭṭum -aṭṭū (coll.)	-aṭṭe	-ō(n)	-	-aṛu	-uge -(ú)ke
	2nd Person		-ø -a(k) -e				-īk	-ø		-(u)la -ø -úla
	3rd Person	masc.					-ōnk	-ali		-aṛú
		fem.					-ōḷk			
		neut.					-ōtk			
	1st Person						-ōm -ōm (incl.)	-ōṇa		-uga -(ú)ka
	2nd Person		-(i)bō				-īmk -īrk	-iri		-(u)le -úle
Plural	3rd Person	masc.					-ōrk	-ali		-aṛú
		fem.								
		neut.					-ōtk			

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

Opt.		Potential Mood						
Pa.	Mal.	Ko.	Ka.	Kod.	Tu.	Te.	Br. Pr.	Br. F.
-en	-on	-ɜ̄(n)	-ɜ̄nu	-alu	-e	-nu	-iv -ɜ̄v	-ɔ̄ṭ
-ut	-o	-ī	-īye -īya		-a	-vu	-is -ɜ̄s	-ɔ̄s
-ed	-oh -ɜ̄ndeh	-ɜ̄(n)	-ɜ̄nu		-e	-nu/ -ni	-e -ɜ̄	-ɔ̄e
-o	-oó -ɜ̄ndeó	-ɜ̄(ḷ)	-ɜ̄ḷu		-aḷú			
		-ɜ̄ -d	-ītu		-u			
-um -umur (incl.)	-om -ot (incl.)	-ɜ̄m -ɔ̄(m) (incl.)	-ɜ̄vu		-a	-mu	-in -ɜ̄n	-ɔ̄n
-ur	-or	-īm -īr	-īru -īra		-arú	-ru	-ire -ɜ̄re	-ɔ̄re
-er	-or -ɜ̄nder	-ɜ̄(r)	-ɜ̄ru		-erú	-ru	-ir -ɜ̄r	-ɔ̄r
-ov	-	-ɜ̄ -d	-ɜ̄vu -īvu		-a	-nu		

Table 9 (continued)

in the Positive Form

			Conditional Mood					Obligatory Mood		
			Ko.	Te.	Go.	Mal.	Br.	Ma.	Ko.	Kod.
Singular	1st Person		-ē(n)	-nu	-ā	-en	-(u)ṭ	-ēṇam -ēṇdu(m)	-vēṛō	-aṇdu
	2nd Person		-ī	-vu	-ī	-e -i (fem.)	-(u)s			
	3rd Person	masc.	-ā(n)	-nu	-ēl	-eh	-as			
		fem.	-ā(ḷ)		-al	-iō				
		neut.	-ā -d							
Plural	1st Person		-ēm -ō(m) (incl.)	-mu	-ōm -aṭ (incl.)	-em -et (incl.)	-(u)n			
	2nd Person		-īm -īr	-ru	-īṭ	-er	-(u)re			
	3rd Person	masc.	-ā(r)	-ru	-ēṛ	-er	-ur -Ø			
		fem.			-āṅg					
		neut.	-ōtk	-nu		-				

The finite forms which appear in the modern languages are often derived from the participles and pronominal suffixes qualified by them, these suffixes going back to the old pronouns. Such is the origin of the finite forms in Tamil (e.g. seyó-ēṉ 'I did' from seyóa + -ĕṉ 'I who did', seyó-ōm 'we did' from seyóa-v-ĕm 'we who did', seyv-ēṉ 'he will do' from *seyva + -ĕṉ 'he who will do'),[59] Kannada (mārḍidenu 'I did' from mārḍida + -enu 'I who did'),[60] Telugu (ceppinānu 'I spoke' from ceppina + -(ā)nu 'I who spoke'),[61] as well as in Tulu (maḷpuvaḷù 'she does' from maḷpu + ăḷù 'doing she', maḷtaḷù 'she did' from maḷti + ăḷù 'she who did'), Gondi (vātān 'I came' from vātā + -(ā)n 'I who came'),[62] Kui (lakineñju 'he makes an offering' from lakini + eñju 'he, making an offering', lakiteñju 'he made an offering' from lakiti + eñju 'he who made an offering'), Kurukh (eskan 'I broke' from eskā + -n 'I who broke') and some other languages.

The pronominal suffixes in Old Tamil still preserved some traces of their original independence, namely, they could still be declined. Consequently the finite forms did not differ from the participial nouns in their characteristics; cf. kiṛandēṉ 'I lay' or 'I who lay' or 'having lain I', accusative: kiṛandēṉey 'having lain me', 'me who lay', ēṉĒy 'you became' or 'you who became', dative: ēṉaykkĭ 'to you who became (my life)', 'to you-having-become (my life)', iṛandĒr 'they died' or 'those who died', accusative: iṛandĒrey, sērndĒr 'they joined' or 'those who joined', dative: sērndĒrkkù, etc.

A similar pattern of the finite form building is often observed in such forms whose first element goes back to the verbal participle; cf. in Kannada mārḍuttēne 'I do' from mārḍutta 'doing' + -ēne < ahene 'I shall become'.

However, this finite form system is not universal. Connection between the verbal personal inflections and the

59 M.Andronov, "On the Future Tense Base in Tamil", TC, vol.8, No.3, 1959.
60 H.Spencer, "A Kanarese Grammar", Mysore, 1950, p. 47.
61 Cf. also Ž.Petrunicheva, "Yazyk telugu", pp. 62, 66.
62 Cf. also C.Trench, "Grammar of Gondi", Madras, 1919, pp. 19-20.

personal pronouns is not at all appearent in some languages (e.g. Brahui), while in other languages (e.g. Parji, Gadaba, Kolami, Naiki, etc.) the finite forms are evidently unrelated to the participles. This is true of finite forms in some other languages too. Thus, a finite form system is traced in Old Tamil in which the paradigm consisted of the words devoid of any personal formants. These forms could originally be verbal nouns which gradually came to be used in the meaning of finite forms; cf. yāṉ vāḻval 'I shall live', vāḻû 'I shall live', kāṇgû 'I shall see', vāḻóum 'we shall live', yāṉ piṟakkû 'I shall be born', etc. There are grounds to believe that such forms reflect the most archaic state of the finite form system of the Dravidian verb.

The Non-Finite Forms

The Participle

The participles are attested in all Dravidian languages except Naiki. Thus, the present, past and future participles are distinguished in Tamil, Malayalam and Kolami, the present-future, past continuous and past perfect participles exist in Tulu, the present-future participles and the past participles are found in Kannada, Kodagu, Telugu, Gadaba, Konda, Kui and Kuvi, the present and past participles are distinguished in Kurukh and Malto, the past participles are found in Gondi and Toda, the present participle is attested in Kota, while the non-temporal participle exists in Parji and Brahui.

The participles are formed by means of special suffixes added to the corresponding tense formant or the verb stem.

Thus, the both participles in Kannada, the present and past participles in Tamil and Malayalam, the past participles in Telugu and Kolami are formed by means of the suffix -a added to the tense formant; cf. māṟ- 'to do' - māṟuva 'doing', 'who will do', māṟida 'who did (was doing)' in Kannada, sey- 'to do' - seyxiṟa, seyxiṉda 'doing', seyóa

'who did (was doing)' in Tamil, cey- 'to do' - ceyyunna doing', ceyóa 'who did (was doing)' in Malayalam, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēsina 'who did (was doing)' in Telugu, tin- 'to eat' - tinda 'who ate (was eating)' in Kolami. The Kolami present participle has the same formant which in this case is joined to the stem: tin- 'to eat' - tina 'eating'.

In Konda, Kui and Kuvi as well as in many Tulu verbs the participles are formed by adding the suffix -i to the tense formant; cf. sī- 'to give' - sīni 'giving', 'who gives', ar- 'to fall' - arti 'fallen' in Konda, nog- 'to wash' - nogni 'washing', 'who will wash', nogdi 'who washed, was washing' in Kui, pāy- 'to beat' - pāyini 'beating', 'who will beat', pāyiti 'who beat' in Kuvi, tū- 'to see' - tūpi 'seeing', 'who will see', tūyi 'who saw', tūti 'who has seen' in Tulu.

In some Tulu verbs which take the formant -i in the Past Continious the participle formant is added directly to the stem: būr- 'to fall' - būri 'who was falling'. The present-future participle of these verbs as well as of all three-stem verbs and some verbs with the stems in -ṇ have the formant -u added directly to the stem (in three-stem verbs, to the stem in -p): būr- 'to fall' - būru 'falling', 'who will fall', maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpu 'doing', 'who will do ', kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇu 'listening', 'who will hear'.

Both participles in Kodagu have the formant -u (naṛa- 'to walk' - naṛapu 'who walks , will walk', naṛandu 'who walked'), as well as the Malto present participle (band- 'to drag' - bandu 'dragging', dary- 'to catch' - daryu 'catching').

The suffix -um is the present participle formant in Kurukh (also optional variants -ūtim,-ūtī) as well as the future participle formant in Malayalam and Tamil (in Old Tamil also -undů). This form corresponds in the latter two languages with the finite form of the third person neuter; e.g. es- 'to break' - esnum (also esnūtī, esnūtim) 'breaking' in Kurukh, cey- 'to do' - ceyyum 'who will do' in Malayalam, oli- 'to sound' - olikkum, olikkundů 'who (that) will sound' in Tamil.

The Kota and Toda participles appear to have the zero formant; cf. tin̲-/tid̲- 'to eat' - tid̲ pat 'eating plate' in Kota, er- 'to be' - edd 'who was' in Toda.[63]

The Gondi participle has the formant -al (with an optional variant -ā before substantives in the singular) added to the past tense formant: vā- 'to come' - vātal 'who/that came', guh-/guht- 'to catch' - guhtal 'caught', ūs- 'to smear with cow dung' - ūstal, ūstā 'smeared'.

The suffix -ā occurs in Kurukh where it functions as the past participle formant; cf. es- 'to break' - eskā 'broken'.

The Parji participle has the suffix -an added to the future tense formant; e.g. vēñ- 'to thatch' - vēñuran 'thatching', 'thatched'.

The same suffix -an appears in the Gadaba present-future participle: sī- 'to give' - sīdan 'giving', 'who (that) will give'. The past participle in Gadaba has the formant -oṇḍi joined to the stem: vaṭ- 'to dry' - vaṭoṇḍi 'dried'.

The present-future participles in -ō, -ū in Colloquial Kannada (ir- 'to be' - irō, irū 'who/that is', 'who/that will be') and the participles in -ē in Telugu (cepp- 'to speak' - ceppē 'speaking', 'who will speak') are formed directly from the verbal stem, as well as the Brahui participles in -ōk, -ōī, the Kolami future participles in -ēka and the Malto past participles in -pe (cf. bin- 'to listen' - binōk 'listening', binōī 'who will listen', 'who/that will be heard' in Brahui, tin- 'to eat' - tineka 'who will eat' in Kolami, band- 'to drag' - bandpe 'who dragged', dary- 'to catch' - darype 'who caught' in Malto).

In Old Telugu participles of the Present-Future tense have a zero suffix and are formed from the stems with the tense suffix attached. E.g. vaṇḍ- 'to cook' - vaṇḍu/ vaṇḍeṛu/vaṇḍeṛi 'who/that cooks, will cook'.

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63 The works of M.B.Emeneau and G.Pope on Kota and Toda do not allow to make any definite conclusions on the pattern of partciple formation in these languages. Thus, tid̲ pat might possibly be regarded as a compound word.

The Dravidian participles always perform the function of a prepositive attribute to the noun. The participles themselves are unchangeable and do not agree with the nouns qualified (Colloquial Telugu is an exception from this general rule: the Present-Future participle may optionally include the suffix -ī before the substantives which denote female beings; cf. ī balla tuṛicī navkar 'a girl[4] sweeping[3] this[1] table[2]').

The participle may have its own independent subject of action in the nominative (in Parji, in the genitive) and express an action performed by this subject and directed to an object expressed by the word qualified; e.g. mīru vellē grāmamu 'the village[3] you[1] are going[2] to', 'the village[3] to be visited[2] by you[1]' in Telugu, an vēñuran olek 'by me[1] thatched[2] house[3]' in Parji. Sometimes the independent subject of the participle may remain unexpressed, in this case it is understood indefinitely; cf. piṟanda nāḷ 'birthday', i.e. 'the day[2] on which (somebody) was born[1]' (but not 'a born day') in Tamil, idi māmiṛipaṇḍlu tinē kālan gādu 'now[1] it is not[5] the time[4] to eat[3] mango[2]', 'this[1] is not[5] the season[4] when they eat[3] mangoes[2]' in Telugu.

The Verbal Participle

Tamil, Malayalam, Parji, Gadaba, Konda, Kurukh, Brahui and probably Toda have only one form of the verbal participle.

In Tamil, Malayalam and Toda the verbal participle has the zero formant following the past tense formant; the Tamil and Malayalam forms ending in a consonant take the euphonic vowel -ů and the past tense fomant -iṉ- loses its consonantal element; cf. sey- 'to do' - seyůů 'doing', 'having done' in Tamil, cey- 'to do' - ceyůů 'doing', 'having done' in Malayalam, pāṟ- 'to sing' - pāṛi 'singing', 'having sung' in Tamil and Malayalam, pī- 'to go' - pīc 'going', 'having gone' in Toda.

In Old Tamil the verbal participle is sometimes formed by the suffix -pů joined either to the marked or to the non-marked stem; cf. uṇ-/uṇg- 'to eat' - uṇbů,

uṇguṣū 'eating', 'having eaten'.

Apart from these Old Tamil had verbal participles with the formants -ā, -ū added to the non-marked stem; cf. uṇ-/uṇg- 'to eat' - uṇṇā, uṇṇū.

In Konda the verbal participle formant -a(no) is added to the formant of the present-future or the past; e.g. ki- 'to do', kinano 'doing', 'having done', mārs- 'to teach' - mārstano 'teaching', 'having taught', per- 'to gather' - perta 'gathering', 'having gathered'. Apart from these there are parallel forms of the verbal participle built directly from the verbal stem by means of the suffixes -su (-so), -ju (-jo), -zu (-zo); cf. sol- 'to go' - solsu 'having gone', pok- 'to throw' - pokso 'having thrown', ki- 'to do' - kizo 'having done', pār- 'to sing' - pārju 'having sung'.

In Parji, Gadaba, Kurukh and Brahui the verbal participles are formed by adding the corresponding suffixes directly to the stem; cf. ven- 'to listen' - veni 'listening', 'having heard', tūl- 'to run', - tūli 'running', 'having run away' in Parji, sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛi 'seeing', 'having seen', pat- 'to catch' - pati 'catching', 'having caught' in Gadaba, es- 'to break' - es'ā, es'ār 'breaking', 'having broken' in Kurukh, bin- 'to listen' - binisa (also binisaaṭ, binisav) 'listening', tix- 'to put' - tixisa (also tixisaaṭ, tixisav) 'putting' in Brahui. In the Parji and Gadaba two-stem verbs the verbal participle suffix -i is joined to the stem in -t, the consonant being palatalised and changed into -c that assimilates the verbal participle suffix in the causative verbs; cf. nilp-/nilt- 'to stand' - nilci 'standing', 'having stood up', nitip-/nitit- 'to establish' - nitic 'establishing', 'having established' in Parji.

Kota, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi and Malto distinguish the present and past verbal participles, which denote continuous and accomplished actions respectively.

The Telugu verbal participles have the zero suffix accompanying the corresponding tense formant; the forms ending in a consonant take the euphonic vowel -u, while

the Past tense formant -in- loses its consonant; cf. koṭṭ- 'to strike' - koṭṭutu 'striking', koṭṭi 'having struck', cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēstu 'doing', cēsi 'having done'.

In Colloquial Telugu verbal participles of the Present-Future tense differ from their literary couterparts by the length of the final vowel. E.g. amm- 'to sell' - ammutū 'selling'.

In Old Telugu verbal participles of the Present-Future tense have the suffix -ucun, which is added to the stem: vaṇḍ- 'to cook' - vaṇḍucun 'cooking'. The verbal participle of the Past tense, apart from the ordinary suffix -i, may have the suffix -uṟun: vaṇḍ 'to cook' - vaṇḍi, vaṇḍuṟun 'having cooked'.

The past verbal participles in Kannada have the zero suffix with the Past tense formant -id-> -i- and the euphonic vowel -u after the tense formant -d-; cf. kare- 'to call' - karedu 'having called', māṟ- 'to do' - māṟi. The present verbal participle formant -ă (before the vowels -al) is joined to the Present tense formant: kareyuttă (before the vowels, kareyuttal) 'calling'. māṟuttă 'before the vowels, māṟuttal) 'doing'.

In Kodagu the present verbal participle formants (-aṇḍu, -uṇḍu) and those of the past verbal participle / -(i)t(t)u / are added to the Past tense formant; e.g. māṟ- 'to do' - māṟiyaṇḍu 'doing', māṟitu 'having done', oṟe- 'to break' - oṟeyuṇḍu 'breaking', oṟetittu 'having broken', naṟa- 'to walk' - naṟandaṇḍu 'walking', naṟanditu 'having walked', poy- 'to strike' - pojjaṇḍu 'striking', pojjitu 'having struck'.

In Tulu, Kolami and Naiki the present verbal participle formants (-oṇûdu in Tulu, -a in Kolami, -c, -cik, -cig, -sik, -sig in Naiki) are affixed directly to the stem (in the Tulu three-stem verbs, to the stem in -t); the past tense verbal participle formants (-Ø in Tulu, -Ø, -na in Kolami, -un in Naiki) are affixed to the Past tense formants (the Past Perfect in Tulu); e.g. būr- 'to fall' - būroṇûdu 'falling', būrudu 'having fallen', maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷtoṇûdu 'doing', maḷtûdu 'having done', tūl- 'to

run' - tūla 'running', tūlt(na) 'having run' in Kolami, peṭay- 'to burn' - peṭayc 'burning', ser- 'to go' - sercik 'going', kak-'to do' - kaksik 'doing', pak- 'to strike' - paktun 'having struck' in Naiki.

In Kuvi the verbal participle formants -i (for the Present) and -a (for the Past) are affixed either to the stem or the Past tense formant depending on the verb; e.g. pāy- 'to strike' - pāyi 'striking', pāya 'having struck', hī- 'to give' - hīhi 'giving', hīha 'having given', tōh- 'to show' - tōssi 'showing', tōssa 'having shown', ve- 'to beat' - veci 'beating', veca 'having beaten', ḍik- 'to break' - ḍikhi 'breaking', dikha 'having broken', ven- 'to hear' - veñji 'listening', veñja 'having heard'.

Finally, in Kota, Gondi, Kui and Malto both the suffixes of the present verbal participle (-r in Kota, -cōṛē/-jōṛē/-sōṛē, -cōkē/-jōkē/-sōkē, -nākē in Gondi, -i in Kui, -e in Malto) and the past verbal participle (-ṯ in Kota, -cī/-jī/-sī in Gondi, -a in Kui, -(a)ko in Malto) are affixed directly to the stem (to the marked stem in Kota and the non-marked stem in the two-stem Gondi verbs); cf. tar-/taḏ- 'to give' - taḏr 'giving', in-/iḏ- 'to speak' - iḏṯ 'having spoken' in Kota, guh-/guht- 'to catch' - guhcōṛē, guhcōkē, guhnākē 'catching', guhcī 'having caught', vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅksōṛē, vaṅksōkē, vaṅknākē 'speaking', vaṅksī 'having spoken', tin- 'to eat' - tiñjōṛē, tiñjōkē, tinnākē 'eating', tiñjī 'having eaten' in Gondi, kō- 'to reap (the harvest)' - kōi 'reaping', kōa 'having reaped' in Kui, band 'to drag' - bande 'dragging', bandako 'having dragged away' in Malto.

In many Kui verbs the verbal participle formant is often preceded by the morphophonemic elements -a-, -p-, -b-, -j- (before the present verbal participle formant -i-) and -s-, -j- (before the past verbal participle formant -a); cf. tāk- 'to go' - tākai 'going', jā- 'to ask' - jāpi 'asking', jāsa 'having asked', trē- 'to wander' - trēbi 'wandering', trēja 'having wandered', nog- 'to wash' - nobgi 'washing' (with a metathesis -bg < *-gb-), nogja 'having washed'.

In Malto there exist verbal participles neutral with respect to the tense of action or its duration apart from the above mentioned types. They are also formed from the stem by means of the suffixes -Ø, -le (expressing a habitual action), -i (usually used with the verbs of motion); e.g. band- 'to drag' - band, bandle, bandi 'dragging', 'having dragged away', dary- 'to catch' - darc, darcle, darci 'catching', 'having caught' (with the y/c alternation in the stem).

As in other languages, the syntactic function of the Dravidian verbal participles is that of an adverbial modifier of an action denoted by another verbal form; cf. paṇi kinano nẽn sona 'having done[2] the work[1] I[3] shall go[4]' in Konda. Absolute verbal participle constructions are usually limited to phraseology; e.g. jaṛaõ posako maler teqalon cẽgoti ekyar 'the rain[1] having fallen[2], the people[3] went[6] to sow[5] the corn[4]' in Malto, ẽnẽ õn vaṅksõṛẽ kẽñjtan 'I[1] heard[4] him[2] speaking[3]' in Gondi.

Despite their formal diversity the verbal participles undoubtedly constitute one of the most ancient features of the Dravidian languages, where they are as widely used as in other agglutinative languages. Especially numerous were the verbal participle forms in the ancient Dravidian languages (sometimes up to ten). P.S.Subrahmanya Sastri has quite justifiably pointed out that the number of the verbal forms in Proto-Dravidian could even be greater; there they probably expressed relationship between actions performed on different temporal planes as well as denoted simultaneity of actions, and the relations of cause, effect and purpose, etc.[64]

The Infinitive

The infinitive exists as an independent unchangeable non-finite verbal form in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Parji, Gadaba and Malto, as well as probably

64 P.S.Subrahmanya Sastri, A Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language, Tiruvadi, 1947, p. 200.

in Toda.

In Tamil, Malayalam, Toda, Kannada and Telugu the infinitive is formed by means of the suffix -a (in Old Telugu -an).[65] This suffix is added directly to the verb stem (to the marked stem in -kk- in Tamil and Malayalam and to the non-marked stem in other cases); cf. naṛa-/naṛakk- 'to go' - naṛakka, ẹẓuś-/ẹẓuśux- 'to write' - ẹẓuśa in Tamil and Malayalam, kūṛ- 'to gather' - kūṛa in Toda,[66] mārṛ- 'to do' - māṛa in Kannada, koṭṭ- 'to strike' - koṭṭa in Modern Telugu, vaṇḍ- 'to cook' - vaṇḍan in Old Telugu. In Telugu three-stem verbs the infinitive is formed in two ways: rakśin-/rakśinć-/rakśis- 'to guard' - rakśinća, rakśimpa; the infinitive of the four-stem verbs of the type cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' also has double formation: cēya, ceyya. The infinitive has the zero formant in the stems with long vowels: pō- 'to leave' - pō, rā- 'to come' - rā.

In Old Tamil the infinitive formant -a may optionally be affixed to the future tense suffix -pp- as well; e.g. ir- 'to be' - iruppa (or irukka), naṛa- 'to walk' - naṛappa (or naṛakka).

In Parji, Gadaba and Kolami the infinitive is formed from the stem by means of the suffixes -uṅ (north.), -u (south.) in Parji, -uṅ, -iṅ in Gadaba, -eṅ, -eṅg, -eṅk in Kolami; e.g. cen- 'to go' - cenuṅ, koy- 'to reap' - koyu in Parji, sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛuṅ, var- 'to come' - variṅ in Gadaba, tin- 'to eat' - tineṅ, tineṅg, tineṅk in Kolami.

The Malto inifinitive has the formant -oti affixed to the stem: band- 'to drag' - bandoti, dary- 'to catch' - daryoti.

Three infinitives are distinguished in Tulu, each relating the action either to the Future or to the Past Continuous or to the Past Perfect. The infinitive suffixes -uni (-unē) (F.), -ini (-inē) are added to the Future

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65 The infinitive in -a originated from the verbal noun in -al (cf. K.Ramakrishnayya, "The Dravidian Infinitive", AORM, 7, 1944). J.Bloch's point of view, who sees "...un substantif dérivé en -a" in the infinitive, is less convincing (J.Bloch, "Sructure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes", p. 64).

66 After G.U.Pope's "Outline of the Toda Grammar".

(in some verbs Present), Past Continuous or Past Perfect suffixes; cf. tū- 'to see' - tūpini (tūpinē), tūyini (tūyinē), tūtini (tūtinē), kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇuni (kēṇunē), kēṇḍini, kēṇṇdini (kēṇṇdinē), maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpuni (maḷpunē), maḷtini (maḷtinē), maḷtṇdini (maḷtṇdinē). In some verbs which have the Past Continuous formant -i- the infinitive suffix is added directly to the stem: būr- 'to fall' - būruni (būrunē), būrini (būrinē), būrudini (būrudinē).

The semantic realm of the Dravidian infinitive is rather extensive: it may function as the predicate, the subject, the object or the adverbial modifier of purpose, cause, manner and time (often in the absolute construction): oṇḍṇ kuleykkavē ellē nāyxaḷum kuleykkat toṛaṅgiṇa... 'one[1] barked[2] - and all[3] the dogs[4] started[6] to bark[5]...', kaṇṇil nīr malxa avaḷ oru nāṭkēliyiṇ mīṇṇ amarndirundāḷ 'with the eyes[1] full[3] of tears[2] she[4] sank[8] into[7] a chair[6]', kuḷattil nīr vaṭṭa iṇṇum iraṇḍṇ mūṇṇṇ māṇam āxum 'before[3] the pond[1] water[2] dries[3] more[4] two-three[5-6] months[7] will pass[8]'.

The Supine

The supine is a non-finite verbal form with a meaning of an adverbial modifier of purpose; it occurs in Old Tamil, Malayalam, Kodagu, Tulu, Kolami, Naiki and Gondi.

The supine formants in Old Tamil are the suffixes -iya(r), -āṇ, -ākkṇ the first being affixed to the non-marked stem or to the Past tense formant -ī- and the other two, to the Future tense formant; e.g. koḷ- 'to take' - koḷ(ḷ)iya(r), koḷīiya(r), koḷvāṇ, koḷvākkṇ '(in order) to take'.

The Malayalam supine is similar to the Tamil supine in -āṇ: kāṇ- 'to see' - kāṇuvāṇ, kāṇmāṇ '(in order) to see'.

The supine formant -akṇ in Kodagu is also affixed to the Future tense formant; cf. māṛ- 'to do' - māṛuvakṇ '(in order) to do', oṛe- 'to break' - oṛepakṇ '(in order) to break'.

In Tulu the supine formant -ere/-iyere is usually added to the Future tense formant: tū- 'to see' - tūvere

'(in order) to see', būr- 'to fall' - būrere, būriyere '(in order) to fall', maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpere '(in order) to do'; kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇiyere '(in order) to listen'.

In Kolami and Naiki the supine has the formants -ak (in Kolami) and -eka (in Naiki); these formants are added directly to the stem: tin- 'to eat' - tinak '(in order) to eat' in Kolami, ser- 'to go' - sereka '(in order) to go' in Naiki.

The formants of the Gondi supine -ā/-ī, -ālē(sk)/ -īlē(sk) are added to the stem (to the marked stem in the two-stem verbs). The two-stem verbs take the suffixes -ā, -ālē(sk), while the one-stem verbs take the suffixes -ī, -īlē(sk); e.g. guh-/guht- 'to catch' - guhtā, guhtālē(sk) '(in order) to catch', tin-/tind- 'to eat' - tindā, tindālē(sk) '(in order) to eat', vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅkī, vaṅkīlē(sk) '(in order) to speak', vā- 'to come' - vāī, vāīlē(sk) '(in order) to come'.

The functions of the supine are usually limited to those of the adverbial modifier of purpose and (seldom) the predicative; cf. Old Tamil eṟinīr vayyaxam velīiya selvōy 'O thou, that goest[4] to conquer[3] the world[2] washed by the sea waves[1]...', yāṉvāẓu nāḷum Paṇṇaṉ vāẓiya... 'O that[4] Paṇṇaṉ[3] should live[4] as long[2] as I live[1]...'. In Kolami this form is used only in combination with the negative verb tōt- 'not to be', 'not to be able'; e.g. varak tōten 'I shall not come', 'I am not able to come'.

Another form of the Gondi supine is derived from the non-marked stem by means of the suffix -nal ; cf. guh-/ guht- 'to catch' - guhnal, tin-/tind- 'to eat' - tinnal, vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅknal. This form is used in combination with the verb ā- 'to be', 'to become' to express an ability to act; e.g. tūṟal ḍhōrk mennal ātul 'the boy[1] can[4] shepherd[3] the cattle[2] already' (lit. 'became, grew up in order to shepherd'), makāṅg kōrknal ātāṅg 'the maize[1] is ripe enough[3] to gnaw[2]'.

The Conditional Verbal Participle

The conditional verbal participle exists in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Kodagu, Telugu, Parji, Gadaba, Kui and Kuvi.

In Old Tamil the conditional verbal participle formants -iṉ, -il are added to the marked stem in -kk- or to the non-marked stem (in the verbs with the marked stem in -r-); cf. pār-/pārkk- 'to look' - pārkkiṉ, pārkkil 'if to look', eṉ- 'to speak' - eṉiṉ, eṉil 'if to speak'. The suffix -iṉ may optionally be added to the Future tense formant -pp- or to the Present tense formant -itp-: ir-/irukk- 'to be - iruppiṉ 'if to be', var-/varux- 'to come' - varuxitpiṉ 'if to come'.

The Gadaba conditional verbal participle suffix -koṛen/-goṛen is added to the stem: sī- 'to give' - sīkoṛen 'if to give', sen- 'to go' - sengoṛen 'if to go'.

In Kodagu the suffixes -(u)ceṅgi, -(u)teṅgi are added either to the non-marked stem or to the Past tense formant; cf. māṛ- 'to do' - māṛuceṅgi 'if to do', oṛe- 'to break' - oṛetuteṅgi 'if to break', bā- 'to come' - bāteṅgi 'if to come'.

The Telugu conditional verbal participle suffix -(i)tē (modern), -inan (old) is added to the verb stem (in the multi-stem verbs, to the stem in -s); cf. veḷ- 'to go' - veḷtē 'if to go', pō- 'to go away' - pōtē 'if to go away', cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēstē 'if to do', koṭṭ- 'to strike' - koṭṭitē 'if to strike', vaṇḍ- 'to cook' - vaṇḍinan 'if to cook'.

In Parji the conditinal verbal participle suffix -oḍ (also -oḍel, -oḍul) is added to the stem (in the two-stem verbs, to the stem in -p); cf. pok(k)- 'to speak' - pokkoḍ 'if to speak', ven- 'to listen' - venoḍul 'if to listen', en- 'to say' - enoḍel 'if to say'; e.g. ēn in pāṭa venoḍel cenena min 'should I listen[4] to thy[2] advice[3] I would[6] not go[5]'. Two more forms of the conditional verbal participle

are used in Parji; they are built similarly as the form in -od by means of the formants -ed, -ed added to the stem, cf. nīr vakpek ṭodemen 'if[2] the water[1] is boiling[2] do not touch[3] (it)'. All these forms may be used in this language (as well as in many others) to express not only conditional meaning but temporal one as well; cf. pōkal ṇḍoḍ cīkod erre 'when (if)[2] the day[1] is dying away[1] it becomes[4] dark[3]'.

In other Dravidian languages the conditional verbal participle suffixes (-āl in Modern Literary Tamil and Malayalam, -ā in Colloquial Tamil, -ore, -are in Old Kannada, -are in Modern Kannada, -ēne in Kui and -ine in Kuvi) are added to the Past tense formant; cf. seyy-/ceyx- 'to do' - seyyāl, seyyā, seyyā 'if to do' in Tamil, ari-/arik- 'to strike' - arikkāl 'if to strike' in Malayalam, bar- 'to come' - bandore, bandare, bandare 'if to come' in Kannada, tak- 'to go' - takkēne 'if to go' in Kui, cīh- 'to show' - cīhīne 'if to show', cīhīnine 'if to show thee' in Kuvi.

The conditional verbal participles are mostly used in absolute constructions; cf. in Old Tamil vin iṉṟu poyppin tīrinīr vīrpulaxettā ulaiyum uraittum pasi 'if[5] the sky[1] deceives[3] (us) today[2] (i.e. does not send the rain) hunger[6] will ravage[6-7] the vast world[5] surrounded by the ocean[4]'.

The lack of the common Dravidian conditional verbal participle formant as well as the specific development of the Conditional Mood forms in some other languages show a relatively late origin of the Conditional forms. Thus, the Tamil and Malayalam suffix -āl developed from an older conditional verbal participle āvil 'if to become' (from ā- 'to become'): seyyāl 'if to do' from seyyāvil < seyyā 'having done' + āvil 'if to become'.[67] The Modern Tamil suffix -ā (as in seyyā 'if to do') originated from -āl after the loss of the final -l common in Modern Tamil.[68] Two other Tamil suffixes, -iṉ and -il, may simply be

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67 M.Andronov, "Obzor morfologii glagola v sovrenennom tamil'skom yazyke," Moscow, 1960, p.12.

68 Cf. M.Andronov, "Razgovornye formy tamil'skogo glagola", KSIVAN, No.4, 1954, p.23.

variant forms of the same suffix: -iṉ > -il or -il > -iṉ. In the latter case it is a substantive - il 'place', qualified by the verb root (as in kuṛi-ṓaṇṇīr 'drinking water' with kuṛi- 'to drink') later modified in the temporal aspect and then conditionally: say-y-il 'a place where something is done' > 'when something is done' > 'if to do' (as in the Bedera Tuxil eṉṉum iṛattú 'if to say', where iṛattú, the oblique form base from iṛam 'place', is qualified by the future participle of the verb eṉ- 'to say').[69] If the suffix -il, on the other hand, originated from -iṉ, the latter is almost certain to go back to the demonstrative word 'iṅ with a probable meaning 'something nearby', 'a place nearby', 'a place in front', etc., with a similar semantic development. If, finally, the suffixes -iṉ and -il are not cognate, each could follow this development independently from the other. The origin of the conditional verbal participle in other languages might as well be similar. This is supported by frequent affixation of the conditional verbal participle formant to a participle or verbal participle (as in Kui or Telugu).

Participial Nouns

The participial nouns, i.e. non-finite verbal forms with the meaning of the name of the doer, are distinguished in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Parji, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Malto.

The participial nouns in Telugu and Gondi are formed by means of the 3rd person personal pronouns (in Gondi, probably, only the pronoun ōṛ 'they') suffixed to the participle of the corresponding tense; e.g. ceppē 'speaking', 'who will speak' - ceppēvāṛu 'he who speaks/will speak', ceppēdi 'she who speaks/will speak', 'it that speaks/will speak', ceppēvāru (ceppēvāḷḷu) 'those who speak/will speak', ceppēvi 'those (neut.) that speak/will speak'; ceppina 'who (that) spoke' - ceppinavāru 'he who

69 M.Andronov, "Ocherk morfologii glagola v sovremennom tamil'skom yazyke" (kand.diss.), Moscow, 1960, pp.107-108.

spoke', etc. in Telugu, sātal, 'who (that) died' (sg.) - sātalōṛ 'the deceased' (pl.), 'those who have already died', 'the ancestors' in Gondi.

The participial nouns in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Tulu are formed by means of the 3rd person personal pronouns added to the tense formant (in Tulu by means of the euphonic consonant -n-); cf. sey- 'to do' - seyxiṛavaṇ 'he who does', seyóavaḷ 'she who did', seyvaóů 'it that will do', etc. in Tamil, var- 'to come' - varunnavan 'he who comes', vannavaḷ 'she who came', varuvaóů 'it that will come', 'arrival', 'advent', etc. in Malayalam, māṛ- 'to do' - māṛuvavanu 'he who does/will do', māṛidavaḷu 'she who did', māṛuvudu 'it that (will) does', doing', deed', etc. in Kannada, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to dod - maḷpunāye 'he who does', maḷtināḷů 'she who did', maḷtůdinavu 'it that had done', etc. in Tulu.

The Kota participial nouns do not differ from the finite forms of the third person (cf. above).

The participial nouns in Kolami, Parji, Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Malto are formed by means of special formants which are added to the participle in Kolami, Parji, Konda and Malto, and to the tense suffix in Kui and Kuvi; cf. vatta 'who that came' - vattan 'he who came', vattar 'those (masc.) who came', vattad 'she who came', 'it that came', vattav 'those (non-masc.) that came' in Kolami, cīran 'giving' - cīraned 'he who gives', cīraner 'those (masc.) who give', cīrano 'she who gives', 'it that gives', cīranov 'those (non-masc.) that give' in Parji, sīni 'giving' - sīnikan 'he who gives', sīnikar 'those (masc.) who give', sīnika 'she who gives', 'it that gives', sīnikeṅ 'those (non-masc.) that give' in Konda, pāy- 'to beat' - pāyinasi 'he who beats', pāyinari 'those (masc.) who beat', pāyinayi 'she who beats', 'it that beats', pāyina'i 'those (non-masc.) that beat', pāyitasi 'he who beat', etc. in Kuvi. The participial nouns in Kui and Malto distinguish the person similarly to the corresponding finite forms of the verb; cf. gi- 'to do' - ginanu 'I who (will) do', gitanu 'I who did', ginati 'thou who doest, will do', gitati 'thou who didst', ginañju 'he who does, will do', gitañju 'he who

did', ginari 'she who does/will do', 'it that does/will do', gitari 'she who did', 'it that did', ginamu 'we (excl.) who (shall) do', ginasu 'we (incl.) who (shall) do', gitamu 'we (excl.) who did', gitasu 'we (incl.) who did', ginateru 'you (pl.) who (will) do', gitateru 'you (pl.) who did', ginaru (ginaka) 'those (masc.) who (will) do', gitaru (gitaka) 'those (masc.) who did', ginai 'those (non-masc.) that (will) do', gitai 'those (non-masc.) that did' in Kui, baj- 'to strike', 'to beat' - bajun 'striking I', baju 'striking thou' (zero formant; cf. baju 'striking'), bajuh 'striking he', bajuó 'striking she', bajum 'striking we (excl.)', bajut 'striking we (incl.)', bajur 'striking you (pl.)', bajur 'striking they', bajpen 'I who (was) struck', bajpe 'thou who (wast) struck' (zero formant; cf. bajpe 'who struck', beaten'), bajpeh 'he who (was) struck', bajpeó 'she who (was) struck', 'it that (was) struck', bajpem 'we (excl.) who (were) struck', bajpet 'we (incl.) who (were) struck', bajper 'you (pl.) who (were) struck', bajper 'they who (were) struck' in Malto.

Apart from these, Malto also has participial nouns formed by means of the same suffixes from the stem which takes the suffix -ne- in the Present and the suffix -ke- in the Past (-ni- and -ki- in the second and third persons feminine singular respectively); e.g. ṭuṇḍ- 'to see' - ṭuṇḍnen, ṭuṇḍne (fem. ṭuṇḍni), ṭuṇḍneh (fem. ṭuṇḍniś), etc., baj- 'to strike' - bajken, bajke (fem. bajki), bajkeh (fem. bajkiś), etc.

The Old Tamil participial nouns which distinguished person did not differ from the corresponding finite forms (cf. above) except the participial noun of the second person singular, which included the formant -ōy as a variant of the usual -ēy, -ey; cf. selvōy 'thou who goest', 'thou who will go'.

The participial nouns denoting the name of action were also used in Old Tamil. They were formed by means of the suffix -mey from the present and past participles; cf. sey-/seyx- 'to do' - seyxiṉḏamey, seyóamey.

The use of the participial nouns is determined by their ability to be declined (cf. bajuh 'he who beats' -

Acc. bajun 'him who beats', Dat. bajuk 'to him who beats', etc. in Malto), have the subject in the Nominative (cf. nöy vandavaṇ 'he to whom[2] the illness[1] came[2]' with vandavaṇ 'he who came' from var- 'to come' in Tamil) and govern other declined forms (cf. ön tüde piṭnen uṛarken 'I[1] the tiger[2] killing[3] was wounded[4]', i.e. 'I was wounded when I was killing the tiger', lölle eṅge ḍönió rölleno argkió Bahavak ölleniö 'to-morrow[1] my[2] wife[3] who took[5] the train[4] will travel[7] to Bahava[6]', i.e. 'having taken the train my wife will go to Bahava' in Malto).

Verbal nouns

The verbal nouns are non-finite verbal forms with the meaning of the name of action. They are attested in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Gadaba, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh, Malto and Brahui.[70] Some languages have two (Telugu, Naiki, Gondi, Kui and Kuvi), three (Tamil) or four (Malto) verbal nouns.

The verbal noun suffixes are as follows: -(t)tal, -al, -ey in Tamil, -uxa in Malayalam, -al in Old Kannada, -alu in Modern Kannada, -uṭa in Old Telugu, -aṛamu/-aṭamu in Modern Telugu, -uḍ in Kolami, -en, -muṛ in Naiki, -al in Gadaba, -ÑnÑ, -(n)ap in Gondi, -teṅ, -deṅ (after the vowels and r, ṛ) in Konda, -a, -oṇḍi in Kui, -ali, -ayi in Kuvi, -nÑ in Kurukh, -eö, -poö, -mo, -ati in Malto, -iṅg in Brahui. All these suffixes except -(n)ap in Gondi and -ali, -ayi in Kuvi are suffixed directly to the verb stem; the Tamil -ey, the Tamil and Malayalam -al and -uxa respectively in the verbs with the marked stem in -kk- as well as the Gondi -ÑnÑ in the two-stem verbs are added to the marked stems; cf. paṛi-/paṛikk- 'to read' - paṛittal,

70 "Verbal nouns are carefully to be distinguished from verbal derivatives or substantives derived from verbs. The latter, though derived from verbs, are used merely as nouns; whereas the verbal noun ... is construed as a verb" (R.Caldwell, "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages", London, 1913, p. 542).

paṛikkal, paṛikkey 'reading', sev-/seyx- 'to do' -seyoel, seyxey, seyyal 'doing' in Tamil. ẹṛ-/ẹṛukk- 'to take' - ẹṛukkuxa 'taking', cey- 'to do' - ceyyuxa 'doing' in Malayalam, bar- 'to come' - baral(u) in Kannada, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēyuṭa, cēyaṛamu, cēyaṭamu 'doing' in Telugu, sī- 'to give' - sīuḍ 'giving' in Kolami, tin- 'to eat' - tinen 'eating', kak- 'to do' - kakmuṛ 'doing' in Naiki, kās- 'to go in harness' - kāsal 'going in harness' in Gadaba, vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅkānā 'speaking', tin-/tind- 'to eat' - tindānā 'eating' in Gondi, mars- 'to teach' - marsteṅ 'teaching', ki- 'to do' - kideṅ 'doing', pār- 'to sing' - pārdeṅ 'singing' in Konda, pāg- 'to fight' - pāga, pāgoṇḍi 'fight', ā- 'to come' - āva, āvoṇḍi 'be coming' (with the euphonic -v-), uṇ- 'to eat' - uṇba, uṇboṇḍi 'eating' (with the euphonic -b-), meh- ' to look' - mehpa, mehpoṇḍi 'examination' (with the euphonic -p-) in Kui, es- 'to break' - esnā 'breaking' in Kurukh, kud- 'to do' - kudeδ 'doing', kudpoδ 'doing' (in the future), dary- 'to catch' - daryno 'during catching', darcati (with the y/c alternation in the stem) 'owing to catching', 'as a result of catching' in Malto, tix- 'to put' - tixiṅg 'putting' in Brahui.

The Gondi suffix -(n)ap is added (in the form of -ap) to the Past Perfect tense formant in the two-stem verbs and the verbs with the stem in a vowel; in other verbs (in the form of -nap) it is added to the stem; e.g. tin-/tind- 'to eat' - tittap 'like eating', 'as though ate', vā- 'to come' - vātap 'like the arrival', 'as though came', vaṅk- 'to speak' - vaṅknap 'like a conversation', 'as though said'; cf. ōl ghabṛō-mātap velīndul 'he[1] rambled around[2] as though lost[2]'.

The Nuvi suffix -ayi is added to the Present-Future tense formant -n- ; cf. tōh- 'to show' - tōhnayi 'showing! The suffix -ali is affixed similarly to the verbal participle formant; cf. pāy- 'to strike' - pāyali 'beating', hī- 'to give' - hīyali 'giving', tōh- 'to show' - tōhali ' 'show', ve- 'to beat' - vecali 'beating', ḍik- 'to break' - ḍikhali 'break', ven- 'to listen' - venjali 'listening'.

The use of the verbal nouns is determined by their ability to have the subject of action in the nominative (cf. jaṛaś posati maler qale kodoti pāryner 'the rain[1] having fallen[2], people[3] may[6] cultivate[5] the field[4]' in Malto), govern the nominal forms (cf. pillalni kottaṛam ćēlā porabātu 'to beat[2] the children[1] is a grave[3] mistake[4]' in Telugu), be qualified by adverbial forms; cf. aggē handēnā varītātōnā 'I am afraid[3] to go[2] there[1]' in Gondi) and be declined (in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Kurukh, Malto and Brahui; cf. esnāgahi ōr ondr'ē 'bring[3] an instrument[2] for breaking[1]' in Kurukh, ē qalven daryen ēn niṅgen endin 'I[4] order[6] you[5] to catch[3] that[1] thief[2]' in Malto).

The ancient texts contain a high proportion of verbal nouns: in some cases they replace almost completely the finite forms with the pronominal suffixes. Thus the verbal nouns emerge as the oldest stratum of verbal forms, whose later differentiation and development gave many modern finite and non-finite forms. It has already been noted that the oldest Tamil finite forms are verbal nouns in origin, and the infinitive in -a developed from the verbal noun in -al after the final consonant was lost. The Kannada present verbal participle seems to be of likely origin; cf. ēguttē (ēguttal-ē before the enclitics) 'doing', 'becoming' from the verbal noun *ēguttal (cf. Ta. ēruśal).

The Tamil participles - at least some of them - may also be connected with verbal nouns formally related to them; cf. seyśal 'doing' > seyśa 'who (that) did', vāṛval 'living' (as in yāṉ vāṛval 'I shall live') > *vāṛva 'who (that) will live' (the future-present participle preserved in Kannada and other languages and traced inside the Tamil finite forms [71]). Such development of the participles with the subsequent differentiation of temporal meaning and transformation of the participle suffixes into the tense formants could lead, at least in some languages, to the

71 M.Andronov, "On the Future Tense Base in Tamil", TC, 8, 1959, No.3.

formation of the modern tense system with their finite forms emerged from the participles.

The Negative Form

The negative form of the verb exists in all Dravidian languages except Kurukh. The number of negative forms is usually less than that of the positive forms.

The negative formants vary from language to language and within one language as well (cf. Table 10). The most common are the zero formant attested in all Dravidian languages except Tulu, Telugu, Kui, Kuvi and Brahui, and the formant -ā-/-a- (-ā- in Tamil and Malayalam, -a- in Telugu and Parji) or a formant which incorporates -ā-/ -a- (-āā- in Tamil and Malayalam, -āy- and -ātt- in Malayalam, -ād- in Kota, -ad- in Kannada, -ay-, -ar- and -and- in Tulu, -'a- in Kui and Kuvi, -pa- and -ta- in Brahui). The Tulu formant -ij- and the Malto formant -omal- are obviously later developments, whose origin is easily traced back to the stem of independent verbs.

The general pattern of the oldest stage of the system of the negative verbal forms in the Dravidian languages remains obscure, as well as the character and trends of its development. R.Caldwell considered the suffix -a- to be the oldest negative formant,[72] a point of view shared largely by V.I.Subramoniam.[73] T.Burrow thinks that the suffix -ā- was the original formant.[74] A.Master does not consider either of these hypotheses to be conclusive.[75] His own opinion is that the zero suffix is the oldest.[76]

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72 R.Caldwell, "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages", p. 471.
73 V.I.Subramoniam, "Negatives", TC, 8, 1959, No. 1.
74 T.Burrow, "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes par Jules Bloch", BSO(A)S. 12. 1947. p.255.
75 A.Master, "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes par Jules Bloch", JRAS, 1949, p.107.
76 A.Master, "The Zero Negative in Dravidian", TPS, 1946.

Negative Suffixes

	Indicative									Imp.
	Tense-less	Pr.	Pr.C.	Pr-F.	F.	P.	P.C.	P.P.	Plup.	
Ta.	-Ø- -ā-									-Ø- -āδ-
Ma.		-ā-			-ā-	-ā-				-āy-
Ko.	-Ø-									-ād-
To.	-Ø-									
Ka.	-Ø-									
Kod.	-Ø-									
Tu.		-uj-			-ay-		-ij- -ůj-	-ij-		-aṛ-
Te.	-a-									-a-
Kol.				-e-		-e-		-e-		-Ø-
Nk.				-e- -Ø-		-e-				-Ø-
Pa.				-a-		-Ø-				-e- -o-
Ga.	-Ø-									-Ø-
Go.	-Ø-									-Ø-
Kon.			-e-	-e- -Ø-		-e- -u-				-Ø-
Kui				-'-		-'a-				-'-
Ku.				-'-		-'a-				-'-
Mal.		-ol(k)-				-l-				-Ø-
Br.				-p(a)-		-ta-	-ta-	-ta-	-ta-	-pa-

Table 10

of the Verb

Imp.	Pot.	Cond.	Obl.	Non-Finite Forms					
				Part.	V.P.	Inf.	C.V.P.	P.N.	V.N.
-Ø-				-ä- -äö-	-ä- -äö-			-äö- -ä- -Ø-	
			-Ø-	-ä- -äy- -ätt-	-äö-		-ä- -äy-	-ätt-	-äy-
			-Ø-		-Ø-			-Ø-	
				-ad-	-ad-			-ad-	
			-Ø-	-Ø-	-Ø-				
	-ay-			-and-	-and-			-and-	
				-a-	-a-			-a-	-a-
				-Ø-	-Ø-				
				-Ø-	-a-	-a-	-a-	-Ø-	
				-Ø-					
						-Ø-			
					-e-		-e-		
				-'a-					
				-'-	-'-		-'a-		-'at-
-omänd-		-l-	-omal-	-Ø-				-omal-	-omal-
	-p(a)-	-pa-		-par-					

J.Bloch began with supporting R.Caldwell's tenet,[77] but later expressed a supposition that the negative formant could have had the initial consonant whose trace is found in Kui-Kuvi (-'a-) and Brahui (-pa-).[78]

The Finite Forms

The negative forms of the Indicative are the most regular constructions of this type in the Dravidian languages (cf. Table 11). The negative forms of the Imperative are attested in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Malto and Brahui. Old Tamil and, possibly, Malto have the negative forms of the Optative. The negative forms of the Potential are found in Tulu and Brahui, while Malto and Brahui have the negative forms of the Conditional, and Malayalam, Kota and Kodagu have the negative forms of the Obligatory.

The Indicative Mood

Eight Dravidian languages - Tamil, Kota, Toda, Kannada, Kodagu, Telugu, Gadaba and Gondi do not distinguish the tense forms in the negative form of the Indicative, thus, the finite forms in each of these languages may usually be related to any temporal plane.

Kolami, Naiki, Kui and Kuvi distinguish the negative forms of the Present-Future and the Past, while Malto distinguishes between the Present and the Past. The negative form in Malayalam, Parji and Konda has three tenses like the positive form: the Present, the Past and the Future in Malayalam, the Present-Future, the Past and the Past Perfect in Parji and the Present-Future, the Present Continuous and the Past in Konda. The negative form of the Indicative in Tulu has four tenses - the Present, the Future, the Past

77 J.Bloch, "La forme negative du verb dravidien", BSL, 36, 1935, No. 2, p. 161.
78 J.Bloch, "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes", Paris, 1946, p. 52.

Continuous and the Past Perfect. Finally, Brahui has the same tenses in the negative form as in the positive form: the Present-Future, the Past, the Past Continuous, the Past Perfect and the Pluperfect.

The Negative Form
Which Does Not Distinguish the Tense

The negative form of the finite Indicative which does not distinguish the tense has no special formant (has the zero formant) in Kota, Toda, Kannada, Kodagu, Gadaba and Gondi. In the two-stem Kodagu verbs the negative form is built from the stem supplemented with the Future tense formant, while in other cases, directly from the stem (in the two-stem verbs, from the non-marked stem); cf. naṛa-/naṛakk- 'to go' - naṛap-, māṛ- 'to do' - mār- in Kodagu, guh-/guht- 'to catch' - guh- in Gondi.

There are two negative formants in the Indicative in Tamil - -Ø- and -ā- (in the third person neuter). In the ancient language these formants were affixed to the non-marked stem; cf. naṛa-/naṛakk- 'to go' - naṛā-, naṛavā-. The modern language retains only the forms of the third person singular neuter, the negative formant -ā- being added to -kk- in the verbs with the marked stem in -kk-; cf. sey-/seyx- 'to do' - seyyā-, naṛa-/naṛakk- 'to go' - naṛakkā-.

In Telugu this form has the formant -a- added to the stem and is used mainly in the meaning of the Present-Future; cf. cepp- 'to speak' - ceppa-, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēya-.

The Formants of the Present Tense

The negative form of the Present tense exists in Malayalam, Tulu and Malto.

In Malayalam the negative Present is formed by adding the negative formant -ā- and the Present tense formant -unn- to the non-marked stem; e.g. paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayāyunn- (in both cases -y- is a euphonic consonant).

In Tulu the negative formant -uj- replaces the Present tense formant -uv- and is added to the Present tense formant -p-; e.g. būr- (the Present positive būruv-) 'to fall' - būruj-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- (the Present positive maḷpuv-) 'to do' - maḷpuj-, tū- (the Present positive tūp-) 'to see' - tūpuj-, par- (the Present positive parp-) 'to drink' - parpuj.

The negative Present in Malto is formed from the stem -olk- (in the 1st and 2nd persons) and -ol- (in the 3rd person); e.g. ād- 'to choose' - ādol(k)-.

The Formants of the Present Continuous

The negative Present Continuous is attested in Konda only. It is formed by adding the negative formant -e- and the Present Continuous formant -jin- to the stem; e.g. sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛejin-.

The Formants of the Present-Future

The negative Present-Future is distinguished in Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Brahui. In each of these languages it is marked by the zero formant which follows the negative formant -e- in Kolami, -e- and -ø- (in the 2nd person) in Naiki, -a- in Parji, -e-, -ø- (in the 2nd person and the 3rd person of the non-masculine plural in Konda, -'- in Kui and Kuvi and -pa- -p- (before -ē-) in Brahui, e.g. sī- 'to do' - sīe-' in Kolami, āṛ- 'to play' - āṛe-, āṛ- in Naiki, cūṛ- 'to see' - cūṛa-, culp-/cult- 'to rise' - culpa- in Parji, sūṛ- 'to see' - sūṛe-, sūṛ- in Konda, tāk- 'to go' - tāk'- in Kui, pāy- 'to strike' - pāy'- in Kuvi, tix- 'to put' - (a)tixpa-, (a)tixp- in Brahui.

The Formants of the Future

The negative Future exists in Malayalam and Tulu.

The Malayalam negative Future is formed from the non-marked stem, to which the negative formant -ā- is added

with the Past tense formant; cf. paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayā-.

The Tulu negative formant -ay- is added directly to the stem (to the stem in -p- in the three-stem verbs); būr- 'to fall' - būray-, paṇ- 'to speak' - paṇay-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpay-.

The Formants of the Past

The negative form of the Past tense exists in Malayalam, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Malto and Brahui.

The negative Past tense in Malayalam is formed from the non-marked stem, the Past tense formant -ññ- is added to the negative suffix -ā-; e.g. paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayāññ-.

The pattern of this form in Kolami, Naiki and Konda is similar; it is built by means of the negative suffix -e- (in the 3rd person non-masculine plural in Konda, -u-) and the Past tense suffix -t-; e.g. sī- 'to do' - sīet- in Kolami, āṟ- 'to play' - āṟet- in Naiki, sūṟ- 'to see' - sūṟet-, sūṟut- in Konda.

The structure of the negative forms of the Past in Kui, Kuvi and Malto is somewhat similar to the one described above; the Past tense suffixes -t- (in Kui and Kuvi) and -ek-, -ā- (in Malto) are added to the negative formants -'a- (in Kui and Kuvi) and -l- (in Malto); cf. tūk- 'to go' - tūk'at- in Kui, hī- 'to give' - hī'at- in Kuvi, ād- 'to choose' - ādlek-, ādl- (in the 3rd person) in Malto.

The negative form of the Past in Parji differs from the corresponding positive form only in the type of the personal endings used; cf. sūṟen 'I saw' - sūṟena 'I did not see', etc.

The negative form of the Past in Brahui has the negative formant -ta- (like all other Past tenses) added to the stem and zero tense suffix; e.g. tix- 'to put' - tixta-.

The Form of the Past Continuous

The negative form of the Past Continuous is distinguished only in Tulu and Brahui.

The negative Past Continuous in Tulu is formed by adding the negative formant -ij-, ůj- (in the verbs of the kēṇ- 'to listen' type) to the Past Continuous formant, whose vowel element -i- is assimilated by the vowel of the negative suffix; cf. paṇ- 'to speak' - paṇḍij-, maḷ-/maḷt-/maḷp- 'to do' - maḷtij-, kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇḍůj-, tū- 'to see' - tůyij-, būr- 'to fall' - būrij-, par- 'to drink' - parij-.

In Brahui this form coincides with the form of the Past tense (the difference in tense is determined by the difference in personal suffixes and the presence of the prefix a-: tixtavaṭ 'I did not put' - atixtavaṭa, tixtavaṭa 'I was not putting').

The Formants of the Past Perfect

The negative Past Perfect is distinguished in Tulu, Parji and Brahui.

The negative Past Perfect in Tulu is formed by adding the negative formant -ij- to the Past Perfect tense formant; e.g. būr- 'to fall' - būrudij-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷtůdij-.

In Parji this form is similar to the negative Present-Future from which it differs only in the type of the personal endings.

The negative Past Perfect in Brahui has the formant -n- added to the negative formant -ta-; e.g. tix- 'to put' - tixtan-.

The Formants of the Pluperfect

The negative Pluperfect exists in Brahui only. It is formed by means of the suffix -vas- or -vēs (-vēst-

in the 1st person singular) added to the negative formant -ta- ; e.g. tix- 'to put' - tixtavēs(t)-, tixtavas-.

The Imperative

The negative Imperative has no special formant (has the zero formant). Neither does it have any tense forms which would serve simultaneously as the negative form. The personal suffixes in the Imperative are affixed to the negative formants: -ēó- in Modern Tamil, -ēy- in Malayalam, -ēd- in Kota, -aṛ- in Tulu, -a- in Telugu, -e- (in the singular) and -o- (in the plural) in Parji, -'- in Kui and Kuvi, -pa- in Brahui, -Ø- in Old Tamil, Kolami, Naiki, Gadaba, Gondi, Konda and Malto; cf. sey- 'to do' - seyyēó- in Modern Tamil, paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayēy- in Malayalam, vit- 'to sow' - vitēd- in Kota, būr- 'to fall' - būraṛ-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpaṛ- in Tulu, cepp- 'to speak' - ceppa-, cēy-/cey-/cēs-/cē- 'to do' - cēya- in Telugu, cūṛ- 'to look' - cūṛe-, cūṛo- in Parji, tēk- 'to go' - tēk'- in Kui, hī- 'to give' - hī'- in Kuvi, tix- 'to put' - tixpa- in Brahui.

The Optative

The negative Optative in Old Tamil had no special formant and was derived from the non-marked stem with the zero negative suffix; cf. sol-/sol(lu)x- 'to speak' - sol-.

The Malto negative Optative is formed from the stem by means of the suffix -omēnd-; cf. ēd- 'to choose' - ēdomēnd-.

The Potential Mood

The Tulu negative Potential is formed by adding the negative suffix -ay- to the formant of the positive Potential; cf. kēṇ- 'to listen' - kēṇûdvay-, būr- 'to fall' būrudvay-, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷtûdvay-.

The Brahui Potential Mood distinquishes two tenses in

the negative form as it does in the positive form - the Present and the Future. The Present tense form has no special formant and is derived from the stem which has the negative formant -pa-, -p- (in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular); e.g. tix- 'to put' - tixp(a)-, bin- 'to listen' bimp(a)-. The Future tense form has the formant -r- affixed to the negative formant -pa- ; e.g. tix- 'to put' - tixpar-, bin-'to listen' - bimpar-.

In the Jhalawan dialect the Future tense form is derived from the stem by means of the suffix -ōf-; cf. bin- 'to listen' - binōf-.

The Conditional Mood

The Malto negative Conditional has the formant -o- added to the stem supplemented by the negative formant -l-; e.g. ēd- 'to choose' - ēdlo-.

The Brahui form of this mood is derived by means of the suffix -rōs- joined to the negative suffix -pa-; cf. tix- 'to put' - tixparōs-.

In the Jhalawan dialect the negative form of the Conditional has the formant -ōs- added to the suffix of the Future Potential -ōf- ; e.g. xul- 'to fear' - xulōfos-.

The Obligatory Mood

The negative form of the Obligatory Mood in Malayalam, Kota and Kodagu differs from the corresponding positive form only in the type of the personal suffixes.

The Formants of Person, Gender and Number

The negative finite forms (cf. formants in Table 11) are characterised by the same general features as the positive ones (cf. above); cf. the appearance of the euphonic -u and the non-differentiation of the person, number and gender in Malayalam (parayāyunnu 'I do not

speak', 'thou dost not speak', 'he (she, it) does not speak', 'we do not speak', 'you (pl.) do not speak', 'they do not speak') or the presence of the special objective conjugation in Kui (sīai 'I /shall/ give to you' - sīara'enu 'I do /shall/ not give to you', sīate 'I gave to you' - sīara'atenu 'I did not give to you') and Kuvi (tōh'o 'I do /shall/ not show' - tōst'o 'I do /shall/ not show to you', tōh'ate'ẽ 'I did not show' - tōst'ate'ẽ 'I did not show to you').

The negative finite forms in Gondi differ from the corresponding positive forms in that the personal suffixes of the first and second persons are added here directly to the stem and not to the third person suffix; cf. vaṅkītōṛ 'they speak' - vaṅkītōṛām 'we speak', but vaṅkōṛ 'they do not speak' - vaṅkōm 'we do not speak'.

Non-Finite Forms

The Participle

The negative participle is attested in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Parji, Gadaba, Kui, Kuvi, Malto and Brahui.

In Tamil, Kannada, Parji, Gadaba and Kuvi the participle has the suffix -a ; it is added to the stem (to the stem in -p in the two-stem verbs) in Parji and Gadaba and to the negative formant in Tamil (-āδ-), Kannada (-ad-) and Kuvi (-'-); e.g. sey- 'to do' - seyyāδa in Tamil, kare- 'to call' - kareyada in Kannada, cūṛ- 'to look' - cūṛa, culp-/cult- 'to rise' - culpa in Parji, pun- 'to know' - puna in Gadaba, pāy- 'to strike' - pāy'a in Kui.

Along with this Old Tamil had an optional form of the negative participle with the zero formant accompanying the negative formant -ā-; cf. koṛ- 'to give' - koṛā.

Four negative participles are attested in Malayalam: one which does not distinguish the tenses (in the modern language), and the past, present and future partciples (in the old language). The future participle has the formant -um, added to the negative formant -āy-; three other

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Indicative Mood								
			O.Ta.	M.Ta. lit.	M.Ta. coll.		Ma.	Ko.	O.Ka	M.Ka.	Kod.
Singular	1st Person		-ēṉ	-	-	In the verb māṭṭ- 'to be inclined' as in the Present tense of the Positive Form	-ø	-ē(n)	-en	-enu	-ele -ule
Singular	2nd Person		-ēy -i	-	-			-ī	-ay	-e	
Singular	3rd Person	masc.	-āṉ	-	-			-ā	-an	-anu	
Singular	3rd Person	fem.	-āḷ	-	-				-aḷ	-aḷu	
Singular	3rd Person	neut.	-δú	-δú	-δú				-du	-adu	
Plural	1st Person		-ōm -ām -ēm	-	-			-ēm -ō(m) (incl.)	-em	-evu	
Plural	2nd Person		-īr(xaḷ)	-	-			-īm -īr	-ir	-iri	
Plural	3rd Person	masc.	-ār(xaḷ)					-ā	-ar	-aru	
Plural	3rd Person	fem.									
Plural	3rd Person	neut.	-ø	-	-				-avu	-avu	

Table 11

in the Negative Form

Indicative Mood										
Tu.	Te.	Kol.		Nk.		Pa.			Ga.	Go.
		Pr.-F.	P.	Pr.-F.	P.	Pr.-F.	P.	P.P.		
-i -e (F.)	-nu	-n	-an	-n	-an	-na	-ena	-ni	-an	-ōn
-a	-vu	-v	-iv	-nem	-i	-ta	-ota	-ti	-aṭ	-vī
-e	-ṛu	-n	-en	-n	-en	-da	-eda	-di	-aṇḍ	-ōl
-aḷů -i	-du	-Ø -d	-in	-d	-un	-ya	-oya	-yi	-a	-ō
-a	-mu	-m	-am	-m	-am	-ma	-oma	-mi	-am	-ōm
-arů	-ru	-r	-ir	-ner	-ir	-ra	-ora	-ri	-ar	-vīṭ
-erů	-ru	-r	-er	-r	-er	-ra	-era	-ri	-ar	-ōṛ -ōṅg
-a	-vu	-	-ev	-Ø	-e	-va	-ova	-vi	-av	

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Indicative Mood							
			Kon.		Kui	Ku.		Mal.	Br.	
			Pr.-F.	PnC.,P.		Pn-F.	P.		Pn-F.	P.
Singular	1st Person		-Ø	-a	-enu	-o -õ	-e'ẽ -e -'ẽ	-en	-ra	-vaṭ
Singular	2nd Person		-ma	-i	-ai (Pn-F.) -i (P.)	-odi	-i	-e -i (P. fem.)	-ẽsa	-vẽs
Singular	3rd Person	masc.	-n	-an	-eñju	-osi	-esi	-ah	-k	-Ø
Singular	3rd Person	fem.								
Singular	3rd Person	neut.	-t	-at	-e	-e	-e	-aó		
Plural	1st Person		-p	-ap	-asu -asu (incl.)	-omi -o(hi) (incl.)	-omi -o (incl.)	-em -et (incl.)	-na	-van
Plural	2nd Person		-maṭ	-ider	-eru	-oderi	-eri	-er	-ẽre	-vẽre
Plural	3rd Person	masc.	-r	-ar	-eru	-ori	-eri	-er	-sa	-vas
Plural	3rd Person	fem.	-u	-e	-u (Pn-F., P.) -o (Pr-F.)	-u	-u			
Plural	3rd Person	neut.						-		

Table 11 (continued)

in the Negative Form

Indicative Mood		Imperative Mood						
Br.		O.Ta.	M.Ta.		Ma.	Ko.	To.	Te.
P.C.	P.P. & Plup.		lit.	coll.				
-vaṭa	-uṭ	-ē/-i (after neg. -ē-) -al/-ēl/-ēl (after neg. -ø-)						
-vēsa	-us		-ē	-ɛ -ay (C.)	-xa	-I	-a	-ku
-vaka	-e (P.P.) -as (Plup.)							
-vana	-un	-min (after neg. -ø-) -ammin (after neg. -ē-) -Ir(xaḷ) (after neg. -ē-)		-Iyiṅgɛ -Iyiḷ (b.v.) -ēyuṅgɛ -ēyuṅgḷ (b.v.) -ixɛ/ -iyɛ (S.) -ēṅgō (B.)				
-vēre	-ure		-um -uṅgaḷ -Ir(xaḷ)		-vin	-Im	-e	-kaṇḍi
-vasa	-ō (P.P., Plup.) -ur (Plup.)							

Personal Suffixes of the Verb

			Imperative Mood									
			Kol.	Nk.	Pa.	Ga.	Go.	Kon.	Kui	Ku.	Mal.	Br.
Singular	1st Person										-oma(ku)	
	2nd Person		-nem	-nem	-men	-men	-(i)mĀ	-ma	-a	-ani		-ø
	3rd Person	masc.										
		fem.										
		neut.										
Plural	1st Person											
	2nd Person		-ner	-ner	-mor	-men	-(i)mĀṭ	-maṭ	-aṭu	-adu		-bō
	3rd Person	masc.										
		fem.										
		neut.										

Table 11 (continued)

in the Negative Form

Optative Mood		Potential Mood			Conditional Mood		Obligatory Mood		
O.Ta.	Mal.	Tu.	Br. Pr.	Br. F.	Mal.	Br.	Ma.	Ko.	Kod.
-aṯka	-on	-e	-r	-ōṭ -aṭ (Jhal)	-n	-uṭ	-ṇḍā -ṇda	-kōlā -gōlā	-anda
	-o	-a	-ōs	-ōs -ōs (Jhal)	-Ø	-us			
	-oh	-e	-Ø	-ōe -Ø (Jhal)	-h	-as			
	-eō	-aḷū -i			-ō				
	-om -ot (incl)	-a	-n	-ōn -an (Jhal)	-m -t (incl)	-un			
	-or	-arū	-ōre	-ōre -ōre (Jhal)	-r	-ure			
	-or -er	-erū	-s	-ōr -ōs (Jhal)	-r	-ur -ō			
	-	-a			-				

participles are formed by means of the suffix -a added to the negative formant -ǣtt- in the participle, which does not distinguish the tense, and to the Present and Past tense suffixes (with the preceding negative suffix -ǣ-) in the other cases; cf. paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayǣtta, paṟayǣyunna, paṟayǣñña, paṟayǣyum.

The negative participles in Kodagu and Kolami are formed by adding special formants (-atu and -e respectively) directly to the stem; e.g. mǣṟ- 'to do' - mǣṟatu, naṟa- 'to walk' - naṟayatu in Kodagu, tin- 'to eat' - tine in Kolami.

The negative participle suffixes in Tulu (-i), Telugu (-ni) and Malto (-u in the Present and -pe in the Past) are affixed to the negative formant (-and-, -a-, -omal- respectively); cf. būr- 'to fall' - būrandi, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpandi in Tulu, cepp- 'to speak' - ceppani in Telugu, ǣd- 'to choose' - ǣdomalu, ǣdomalpe in Malto.

The Brahui negative participle is formed by means of the suffix -ōī (cf. the same suffix in the positive form) affixed to the morpheme -par-, which is also used in the Future Potential; cf. bis- 'to bake' - bisparōī, bin- 'to listen' - bimparōī.

Kui has the present-future and the past negative participles; both are formed by means of the suffix -i added to the formant of the present-future -n- in the present-future participles, and to the formant of the Past -t- in the past participles (with the preceding negative formant -'a-); cf. trē- 'to go' - trē'ani, trē'ati.

The Verbal Participle

The negative verbal participle is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kodagu, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Kolami, Parji, Konda, Kuvi and Malto.

The Kota, Kodagu and Kolami negative verbal participles are formed from the stem (from the non-marked stem in the two-stem verbs) by means of the negative verbal participle suffixes (-ǣ, -atte, -sel respectively); cf. vit-/vity- 'to sow' - vitǣ in Kota, oṟe- 'to break' - oṟeyatte in Kodagu, tin- 'to eat' - tinsel in Kolami.

In Telugu and Parji the negative verbal participle suffix -ka is added to the negative formant -a- ; e.g. cepp- ' to speak' - ceppaka in Telugu, cūṛ- 'to look' - cūṛaka, culp-/cult- 'to rise' - culpaka in Parji.

In Malayalam, Kannada and Tulu the negative verbal participle has the suffix -e , which is added to the negative formant (-āδ- in Malayalam, -ad- in Kannada, and -and- in Tulu); cf. paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayāδe in Malayalam, kare- 'to call' - kareyade in Kannada, būr- 'to fall' - būrande, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpande in Tulu.

The Konda negative verbal participle suffix -no is added to the negative formant -e-, while the Kuvi suffix -ahanaha is added to the negative formant -'- ; cf. sol- 'to go' - soleno in Konda, pāy- 'to strike' - pāy'ahanaha in Kuvi.

The Malto negative verbal participle formed from the stem by means of the suffix -balo expresses continuous action, while the negative verbal participle in -abalo expresses perfective action; cf. sikar- 'to learn' - sikarbalo 'not learning', sikarabalo 'not having learned'.

The Old Tamil negative verbal participle has the zero formant (with the negative formants -āδ-, -ā-) or the suffixes -mal, -mey, -mē (with the negative formant -ā-); cf. naṛa- 'to go' - naṛavāδů (-ů is a euphonic vowel), naṛavā, naṛavāmal, naṛavāmey, naṛavāmē.

Only two forms (in -ø and -mal) are used in the modern literary language. The negative verbal participle may have the zero suffix as well as the suffix -mε in the colloquial language, while the dialect of Ceylon has the suffix -may; e.g. naṛa- 'to walk' - naṛakkāδů, naṛakkā, naṛakkāmε, pōṛ- 'to throw' - pōṛāmay.

The Infinitive

The negative infinitive is attested in Parji and Gondi only.

It is formed in Parji by means of the suffix -kanug added to the negative formant -a-; e.g. ver- 'to come' -

verakanug, culp-/cult- 'to rise' - culpakanug; cf. ēm perkul tōndakanug goṅgkul tindam 'we[1] eat[5] wheat[4] when there is no[3] rice[2]'.

The Gondi negative infinitive is formed from the stem (from the non-marked stem in the two-stem verbs) by means of the suffixes -vā(hk), -vakk. Thus, tin-/tind- 'to eat' - tinvā, tinvāhk, tinvakk; cf. nāvā jīvā tinvakk aytā 'my[1] soul[2] wants[4] not to eat[3]' (i.e. 'my soul does not want to eat'), ānā puhvā aytōnā 'I[1] not to plow[2] want[3]' (i.e. 'I do not want to plow'), id ḍōṅguḍā valīvāhk 'in[2] this[1] forest[2] not to wander[3]' (i.e. 'don't wander in this forest').

The Conditional Verbal Participle

The negative conditional verbal participles are attested in Malayalam, Parji, Konda and Kuvi.

The conditional verbal participles in Malayalam have the formants -āl and -xil , the first being added to the Past tense formant -ññ- (with the preceding negative -ā-); while the second, to the negative formant -ay- ; e.g. paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayāññāl, paṟayāyxil.

In Parji the conditional verbal participle formants -ḍ(el), -koḍ are added to the negative formant -a- ; e.g. ver- 'to come' - veraḍ(el), verakoḍ.

The conditional verbal participle suffixes in Konda and Kuvi (-iṅ and -ihi respectively) are added to the Past tense formant -t- (with the preceding negative formant -e-/-'a-); e.g. tila- 'to fear' - tilayetiṅ, pāy- 'to beat' - pāy'atihi.

Participial Nouns

The negative participial nouns are found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, Parji and Malto. They are formed similarly to the positive participial nouns (cf. above); the only difference is that their formants are added either to the negative participle (in Tulu, Telugu, Parji and Malto) or to the negative formant (-ā- in Tamil,

-Ett- in Malayalam, -Ø- in Kota, -ad- in Kannada); cf. sey- 'to do' - seyyEóavaṉ 'he who does not do/will not do/did not do' in Tamil, paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayEttavaḷ 'she who does not speak/will not speak/did not speak' in Modern Malayalam, paṟayEyumnavaḷ 'she who does not speak', paṟayEñ-ñavaḷ 'she who did not speak', paṟayEyvavaḷ 'she who will not speak' in Old Malayalam, vit-/vity- 'to sow' - vitE(d) 'that which is not sown' in Kota, mEṟ- 'to do' - mEṟadavaru 'they who do (will) not do', 'they who did not do' in Kannada, maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do' - maḷpandinEye 'he who does not do', 'he who did not do' in Tulu, cepp- 'to speak' - ceppanivEru 'they who do (did, will) not speak' in Telugu, ci- 'to give' - ciyayer 'they who do (did, will) not give' in Parji, Ed- 'to choose' - Edomaluh 'he who does not choose', Edomalpeó 'she who did not choose' in Malto.

Apart from the just described, Old Tamil had negative participial nouns - masculine, feminine and epicene - formed by means of suffixes -Eṉ (masc.), -Eḷ (fem.) and -Er(xaḷ) (epic.) added to the negative formants -Eó- or -Ø-; cf. aṟi- 'to know' - aṟiyEóEṉ, aṟiyEṉ 'he who does (will, did) not know', aṟiyEóEḷ, aṟiyEḷ 'she who does (will, did) not know', etc.

The negative participial noun with a meaning of the name of action has the formant -mey added to the negative participle in -E; sey-/seyx- 'to do' - seyyEmey.

Verbal Nouns

The negative verbal nouns are attested in Malayalam, Old Telugu, Kuvi and Malto.

The negative verbal noun suffixes -xa in Malayalam, -mi in Old Telugu, -ayi in Kuvi, -e, -po, -no in Malto are added either to the negative formant (-Ey- in Malayalam, -a- in Telugu, -omal- in Malto) or to the Past tense formant with the preceding negative suffix (-'at- in Kuvi); e.g. paṟa- 'to speak' - paṟayEyxa in Malayalam, cepp- 'to speak' - ceppami in Old Telugu, pEy- 'to strike' - pEy'atayi in Kuvi, Ed- 'to choose' - Edomale, Edomalpe, Edomalno in Malto. Cf. Eh baromalno kEjeó ḍagrarenió '(all)

the work[3] will be wasted[4] owing to[2] his[1] not coming[2], in Malto.

CONJUGATION PATTERNS OF THE VERB IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

K o d a g u

mṟ- 'to do'

Positive Form

Indicative Mood

	Present		Future		Past	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	mṟuvi	mṟuva(ḷe)	mṟuvu	mṟu	mṟune	mṟici
2	mṟuviya	mṟuvīra	mṟuviya	mṟuvira	mṟiya	mṟira
	mṟuva(ḷa)					
3	mṟuvu	mṟuva(ḷa)	mṟu	mṟu	mṟici	mṟuci
	mṟuva					

Indicative Mood		Optative	Potential	Obligatory
Sg.	Pl.	Mood	Mood	Mood
mṟu	mṟi	mṟaṟu	mṟalu	mṟaṇḍu

Participles	Verbal Participles	Supine	Conditional Participle
mṟuvu (Pr.-F.)	mṟiyaṇḍu (Pr.)	mṟuvakù	mṟuceṅgi
mṟunu (P.)	mṟitu (P.)		

Negative Form

Indicative Mood	Obligatory Mood	Participle	Verbal Participle
mṟule	mṟaṇḍa	mṟatu	mṟatte

T u l u

maḷ-/maḷp-/maḷt- 'to do'

Positive Form

Indicative Mood

	Present		Future		Present-Future	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	maḷpuve	maḷpuva	maḷpe	maḷpa	maḷpēve	maḷpēva
2	maḷpuva	maḷpuvarù	maḷpa	maḷparù	maḷpēva	maḷpēvarù

3	maḷpuve maḷpuvaḷů maḷpuṇḍu	maḷpuverů maḷpuva	maḷpe maḷpaḷů maḷpu	maḷperů maḷpa	maḷpĕve maḷpĕvaḷů maḷpĕṇḍu	maḷpĕverů maḷpĕva

	Past Continuous		Past Perfect		Past Frequentative	
1	maḷte	maḷta	maḷtůde	maḷtůda	maḷpĕde	maḷpĕda
2	maḷta	maḷtarů	maḷtůda	maḷtůdarů	maḷpĕda	maḷpĕdarů
3	maḷte maḷtaḷů maḷtůṇḍů	maḷterů maḷta	maḷtůde maḷtůdaḷů maḷtůdůṇḍů	maḷtůderů maḷtůda	maḷpĕde maḷpĕdaḷů maḷpĕdůṇḍů	maḷpĕderů maḷpĕda

	Optative Mood		Potential Mood	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	maḷpuge	maḷpuga	maḷtůdve	maḷtůdva
2	maḷpula	maḷpule	maḷtůdva	maḷtůdvarů
3	maḷparů	maḷparů	maḷtůdve maḷtůdvaḷů maḷtůdu	maḷtůdverů maḷtůdva

Participles	Verbal Participles	Infinitives
maḷpu (Pr.-F.)		maḷpuni, maḷpunĕ (Pr.)
maḷti (P.C.)	maḷtoṇḍu (Pr.)	maḷtini, maḷtinĕ (P.C.)
maḷtůdi (P.P.)	maḷtůdů (P.)	maḷtůdini, maḷtůdinĕ (P.P.)

Supine

maḷpere

Participial Nouns

Present-Future	Past Continuous	Past Perfect
Sg.	Sg.	Sg.
maḷpunĕye	maḷtinĕye	maḷtůdinĕye
maḷpunĕḷů	maḷtinĕḷů	maḷtůdinĕḷů
maḷpunavu	maḷtinavu	maḷtůdinavu
Pl.	Pl.	Pl.
maḷpunĕkuḷu	maḷtinĕkuḷu	maḷtůdinĕkuḷu
maḷpunaykuḷu	maḷtinaykuḷu	maḷtůdinaykuḷu

Negative Form

Indicative Mood

	Present		Future	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	maḷpuji	maḷpuja	maḷpaye	maḷpaya

2	maḷpuja	maḷpujaru	maḷpaya	maḷpayaru
3	maḷpuje maḷpujaḷů	maḷpujerů	maḷpaye maḷpayaḷů	maḷpayerů
	maḷpuji	maḷpuja	maḷpandu	maḷpaya

	Past Continuous		Past Perfect	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	maḷtiji	maḷtija	maḷtůdiji	maḷtůdija
2	maḷtija	maḷtijarů	maḷtůdija	maḷtůdijarů
3	maḷtije maḷtijaḷů	maḷtijerů	maḷtůdije maḷtůdijaḷů	maḷtůdijerů
	maḷtiji	maḷtija	maḷtůdiji	maḷtůdija

Imperative Mood	Participle	Verbal Participle
maḷpaṛa (Sg.) maḷpaṛe (Pl.)	maḷpandi	maḷpande

	Potential Mood		Participial Nouns
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.
1	maḷtůdvaye	maḷtůdvaya	maḷpandinƎye
2	maḷtůdvaya	maḷtůdvayarů	maḷpandinƎḷů
3	maḷtůdvaye maḷtůdvayaḷů	maḷtůdvayerů	maḷpandinavu
	maḷtůdvandů	maḷtůdvaya	Pl.
			maḷpandinƎkuḷu maḷpandinaykuḷu

K o l a m i

tin- 'to eat'

Positive Form

Indicative Mood

	Present-Future		Future	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	tinatun	tinatum	tindatun	tindatum
2	tinativ	tinatir	tindativ	tindatir
3	tinan	tinar	tindan	tindar
	tina(d)	tinav	tinda(d)	tindav

	Past		Past Continuous	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	tindan	tindam	tindun	tindum
2	tindiv	tindir	tinniv	tinnir

3	tinden	tinder	tinnen	tinner
	tindin	tindev	tinun	tinnev

Imperative Mood

Sg.	Pl.
tīn	tinur

Participles	Verbal Participles	Infinitives	Supine
tina (Pr.)	tina (Pr.)	tineṅ	tinak
tineka (F.)	tint(na) (P.)	tineṅg	Verbal Noun
tinda (P.)		tineṅk	tinuḍ

Participial Nouns

Sg.	Pl.
tinan, tinekan, tindan	tinar, tinekar, tinder
tinad, tinekad, tindad	tinav, tinekav, tindav

Negative Form

Indicative Mood

Pers.	Present-Future		Past	
1	tinen	tinem	tinetan	tinetam
2	tinev	tiner	tinetiv	tinetir
3	tinen	tiner	tineten	tineter
	tine(d)	-	tinetin	tinetev

Imperative Mood		Participle	Verbal Participle
Sg.	Pl.	tine	tinsel
tinnem	tinner		

G o n d i

guh-/guht- 'to catch'

Positive Form

Indicative Mood

	Present		Future		Past	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	guhtātōnā	guhtātōṛām	guhkā	guhkām	guhtām	guhtām
Incl.		guhtātōṛaṭ		guhkaṭ		guhtaṭ
2	guhtātōnī	guhtātōṛīṭ	guhkī	guhkīṭ	guhtī	guhtīṭ
3	guhtātōl	guhtātōṛ	guhtānul	guhtānuṛ	guhtul	guhtuṛ
	guhtātā	guhtātāṅg	guhtāl	guhtānuṅg	guht	guhtuṅg

Pers.	Past Continuous Sg.	Past Continuous Pl.	Past Perfect Sg.	Past Perfect Pl.	Pluperfect Sg.	Pluperfect Pl.
1	guhandēn	guhandēm	guhtōnē	guhtōṛēm	guhcītōnē	guhcītōṛēm
Incl.		guhandaṭ		guhtōṛaṭ		guhcītōṛaṭ
2	guhandī	guhandīṭ	guhtōnī	guhtōṛīṭ	guhcītōnī	guhcītōṛīṭ
3	guhandul	guhandur	guhtōl	guhtōṛ	guhcītōl	guhcītōṛ
	guhand	guhandung	guhtē	guhtēng	guhcītē	guhcītēng

	Imperative Mood Sg.	Imperative Mood Pl.	Conditional Mood Sg.	Conditional Mood Pl.
1	-	-	guhēnē	guhēṛēm
Incl.	-	-		guhēṛaṭ
2	guhē	guhaṭ	guhēnī	guhēṛīṭ
3	guhīl	guhīṛ	guhēl	guhēṛ
			guhval	guhvēng

Participle	Verbal Participle	Supine	Participial Noun	Verbal Noun
guhtal	guhcōṛē	guhtē	guhtalōṛ	guhtēnē
guhtē	guhcōkē	guhtēlē	guhtēng	guhtap
	guhnēkē	guhtēlēsk		
	guhcī(kun)	guhnal		

Negative Form

	Indicative Mood Sg.	Indicative Mood Pl.	Imperative Mood Sg.	Imperative Mood Pl.	Infinitive
1	guhōn	guhōm	-	-	guhvē
2	guhvī	guhvīṭ	guhimē	guhimēṭ	guhvēnk
3	guhōl	guhōṛ	-	-	guhvakk
	guhō	guhōng	-	-	

K u v i

pēy- 'to beat'

Positive Form

Indicative Mood

Present-Future

Pers.	Non-objective Conjugation Sg.	Non-objective Conjugation Pl.	Objective Conjugation Sg.	Objective Conjugation Pl.
1	pēyi'ī	pēya'ī	pēya'ī	pēyanomi
Incl.		pēyino		

2	pāyidi	pāyideri	pāyadi	pāyaderi
3	pāyinesi	pāyineri	pāyanesi	pāyaneri
	pāyine	pāyinu	pāyane	pāyanu

Past

Non-objective		Conjugation	Objective	Conjugation
1	pāyite'ē	pāyitomi	pāyate'ē	pāyatomi
Incl.		pāyito		
2	pāyiti	pāyiteri	pāyati	pāyateri
3	pāyitesi	pāyiteri	pāyatesi	pāyateri
	pāyite	pāyitu	pāyate	pāyate

Imperative Mood		Participles	Verbal Participles	Conditional Verbal Participle
Sg.	Pl.	pāyini (Pr.-F.)	pāyi (Pr.-F.)	pāyitihi (nom-obj.)
pāyamu	pāyadu	pāyiti (P.)	pāya (P.)	pāyatihi (obj.)

Participial Nouns

Present-Future		Past			
		Non-Objective		Objective	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
pāyinasi	pāyinari	pāyitasi	pāyitari	pāyatasi	pāyatari
pāyinayi	pāyina'i	pāyitayi	pāyita'i	pāyatayi	pāyata'i

Verbal Nouns

pāyali
pāyinayi

Negative Form

Indicative Mood

	Present-Future		Past	
pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	pāyo'ō	pāy'omi	pāy'ate'ē	pāy'ato(mi)
Incl.		pāy'ohi		
2	pāy'odi	pāy'oderi	pāy'ati	pāy'ateri
3	pāy'osi	pāy'ori	pāy'atesi	pāy'ateri
	pāy'e	pāy'u	pāy'ate	pāy'atu

Imperative Mood		Participle	Verbal Participle	Conditional Verbal Participle	Verbal Noun
Sg.	Pl.				
pāy'ani	pāy'adu	pāy'a	pāy'ahanaha	pāy'atihi	pāy'atayi

M a l t o

band- 'to drag'

Positive Form

Indicative Mood

	Present		Future		Past	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	bandin	bandim	bandon	bandom	bandeken	bandekem
Incl.		bandit		bandot		bandeket
2	bandne	bandner	bandone	bander	bandeke	bandeker
	bandni		bandeni		bandeki	
3	bandih	bandner	bandoh	bander	bandah	bandar
	bandiś	-	bandeniś	-	bandaś	-

Imperative Mood		Optative Mood		Conditional Mood	
banda	Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
bandova	1	bandon	bandom	bandlen	bandlem
bandoku	Incl.		bandot		bandlet
bandku	2	bando	bander	bandle	bandler
				bandli	
		bandoh	bandor	bandleh	bandler
		(bandāndeh)	(bandānder)		
	3	bandoś	-	bandliś	-
		(bandāndeś)			

Participles	Verbal Participles	Infinitive	Verbal Nouns
bandu (Pr.)	bande (Pr.)	bandoti	bandeś
bandpe (P.)	bandako (P.)		bandpoś
	band(le)		bandno
	bandi		bandati

Participial Nouns

Pers.	Present Sg.	Present Pl.	Past	Past
1	bandum,	bandum,	bandpen,	bandpem,
	bandnen	bandnem	bandeken	bandekem
Incl.		bandut,		bandpet,
		bandnet		bandeket
2	bandu,	bandur,	bandpe,	bandper,
	bandne,	bandner	bandeke,	bandeker
	bandni		bandeki	
3	banduh,	bandur,	bandpeh,	bandper,
	bandneh	bandner	bandekeh	bandeker
	banduó,	-	bandpeó,	-
	bandnió	-	bandekió	-

Negative Form

Indicative Mood

Pers.	Present Sg.	Present Pl.	Past Sg.	Past Pl.
1	bandolken	bandolkem	bandleken	bandlekem
Incl.		bandolket		bandleket
2	bandolke,	bandolker	bandleke,	bandleker
	bandolki	-	bandleki	-
3	bandolah	bandolar	bandlah	bandlar
	bandolaó	-	bandlaó	-

Imperative Mood

bandoma(ku)

Pers.	Optative Mood Sg.	Optative Mood Pl.	Conditional Mood Sg.	Conditional Mood Pl.
1	bandomāndon	bandomāndom	bandlon	bandlom
Incl.		bandomāndot		bandlot
2	bandomāndo	bandomāndor	bandlo	bandlor
	bandomāndoh,	bandomāndor,	bandloh	bandlor
3	bandomāndeh	bandomānder		
	bandomāndoó,	-	bandloó	-
	bandomāndeó	-		

Participle	Verbal Participles	Verbal Nouns
bandomalu (Pr.)	bandbalo (Pr.)	bandomale

bandomalpe (P.)	bandabalo (P.)	bandomalpe bandomalpo

Participial Nouns

Present		Past	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
bandomaluh	bandomalur	bandomalpeh	bandomalper
bandomaluõ	-	bandomalpeõ	-

B r a h u i

tix- 'to put'

Positive Form

Indicative Mood

	Present-Future		Past		Past Continuous	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	(a)tixiva	(a)tixina	tixäṭ	tixän	(a)tixäṭa	(a)tixäna
2	(a)tixisa	(a)tixire	tixäs	tixäre	(a)tixäsa	(a)tixäre
3	(a)tixik	(a)tixira	tixä	tixär	(a)tixäka	(a)tixära

	Past Perfect		Pluperfect	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	tixänuṭ	tixänun	tixäsut	tixäsun
2	tixänus	tixänure	tixäsus	tixäsure
3	tixäne	tixänõ	tixäsas	tixäsur, tixäsõ

Imperative Mood

Sg.	Pl.
tix(ak)	tixbõ

	Potential Mood				Conditional Mood	
	Present		Future			
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	tixiv	tixin	tixõṭ	tixõn	tixõsuṭ	tixõsun
2	tixis	tixire	tixõs	tixõre	tixõsus	tixõsure
3	tixe	tixir	tixõe	tixõr	tixõsas	tixõsur, tixõsõ

Participle	Verbal Participle	Verbal Noun
tixõk	tixisa	tixiṅg
tixõi	tixisav	
	tixisaaṭ	

Negative Form

Indicative Mood

	Present-Future		Past	
Pers	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	(a)tixpara	(a)tixpana	tixtavaṭ	tixtavan
2	(a)tixpēsa	(a)tixpēre	tixtavēs	tixtavēre
3	(a)tixpak	(a)tixpasa	tixtav	tixtavas

Past Continuous

Sg.	Pl.
(a)tixtavaṭa	(a)tixtavana
(a)tixtavēsa	(a)tixtavēre
(a)tixtavaka	(a)tixtavasa

	Past Perfect		Pluperfect	
Pers.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	tixtanuṭ	tixtanun	tixtavēsuṭ	tixtavēsun
2	tixtanus	tixtanure	tixtavēsus	tixtavēsure
3	tixtane	tixtanō	tixtavēsas	tixtavēsur, tixtavēsō

Imperative Mood

tixpa (Sg.) tixpabō (Pl.)

Potential Mood

	Present		Future	
Pers,	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	tixpar	tixpan	tixparōṭ	tixparōn
2	tixpēs	tixpēre	tixparōs	tixparōre
3	tixp	tixpas	tixparōe	tixparōr

Conditional Mood

	Sg.	Pl.
1	tixparōsuṭ	tixparōsun
2	tixparōsus	tixparōsure
3	tixparōsas	tixparōsur, tixparōsō

Participle

tixparōI

THE ADVERB

The adverbs, i.e. unchangeable words with an adverbial meaning, are found in almost every Dravidian language.[79] True, the number of such words is small in each language, and their structure undoubtedly reveals their recent origin. Thus, the Tamil adverbs iṅgû 'hither', aṅgû 'thither', eṅgû 'where' are apparently Datives (formant -gû < -kû) from some declinable words, probably, *iṅ 'something near', *aṅ 'something remote', *eṅ 'what'; the adverbs of the type ippa, ippŏ 'now', appa, appŏ 'then', eppa, eppŏ 'when' go back to the combinations of the corresponding substantive with the particles: i-p-pōṟṟû, i-p-poṟuû 'this time' > 'at this time', a-p-pōṟṟû, a-p-poṟuû 'that time' > 'at that time', e-p-pōṟṟû, e-p-poṟuû 'what time', whereas the Malayalam adverb mēlōṭṭû 'upwards' derives from the combination of the words mēl 'up', 'top' and paṭṭû , a verbal participle from paṟuka 'to fall', 'to move towards'. Many adverbs were borrowed into Dravidian languages from other languages; cf. sadā 'always', 'constantly' in Tamil, divasēna 'daily', maddhyē 'in the midst' in Malayalam, khob 'very', 'much' in Kurukh, maji 'in the midst' in Malto, etc.

Relative scarcity of adverbs in the Dravidian languages is compensated for by the ability of the substantives to be used adverbially not only in the oblique cases but in the Nominative or as a pure stem; e.g. iṉṟû 'this day', 'today', dūram 'remoteness' - dūra 'far' in Tamil, modalu 'beginning', 'in the beginning' in Kannada, akka 'that time', 'then' in Kodagu, mēlû 'future', 'after', 'afterwards' in Tulu, rēpu 'the day of tomorrow', 'tomorrow' in Telugu, kēraǵ 'bottom', 'down' in Brahui, etc.

The situation is similar in other Dravidian languages; e.g. in Kui, where "a considerable number of adverbs are

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79 The adverbs are absent as a separate part of speech only in M.B.Emeneau's materials on Kota and Kolami used in the present work.

nouns used adverbially and some others are formed from demonstrative bases".[80]

All these facts lead us to the conclusion that adverbs as well as adjectives were originally unknown in Proto-Dravidian as separate parts of speech and developed as such in individual languages after the disintegration of the parent language.

PARTICLES

The particles are subdivided into proclitics and enclitics in the Dravidian languages. Prominent among the former is a copulative particle with the meaning of "and", "as well", "even": -um in Tamil, Malayalam, Old Kannada and Brahui, -m in Kurukh, -unnu in Telugu, -ū in Modern Kannada, -mē in Gondi, -ve in Kui, -ā in Tulu; cf. mīr-unnu tammuṛ-unnu 'you and your younger brother' in Telugu, mī āba-ve īnu-ve ānu-ve 'your father, thou and I', imbai-ve iskūli taṅgi vāja siḍe 'none (lit. 'even one') came to school' in Kui, rāman-ū kruṣṇan-ū 'Rama and Krishna' in Kannada.

Another group of enclitics includes interrogative-emphatic particles. Thus, the particle -ǎ expresses a neutral question; cf. nīru nallad-a 'is this water good' in Kodagu, undu nītiy-ā 'is this correct?' in Tulu, mīru pulicinār-ā 'have you called me?' in Telugu, and vatten-a 'has he come' in Kolami. Semantically close to this group are the particles -gi in Kolami and Kui, -(y)āṅ in Malto. Apart from these interrogative-affirmative particles are used in some languages (cf. nī-y-ē seyôāy 'thou hast done it, hast thou?' in Tamil, lēle nīn barku-yoṅ 'thou wilt come tomorrow, wilt thou?' in Malto), as well as the

80 W.W.Winfield, "A Grammar of the Kui Language", Calcutta, 1928, p. 148. On the origin of the adverbs in the Dravidian languages cf. also D.Bray, "The Brahui Language", vol. 1, Calcutta, 1909, p. 212; E.Droese, "Introduction to the Malto Language", vol. 1, Agra, 1884, p. 88 ff; C.U.Pope, "Outlines of the Toda Grammar", p. 248.

interrogative-negative particles (cf. nīnu hōgutti-y-ō 'thou wilt go, wilt not?' in Kannada).

The proclitics include four particles - one interrogative (e- ''what', 'which') and three demonstrative (i- 'this', 'close to the speaker', u- 'this', 'that', 'at a certain distance from the speaker or near the adressee', a- 'that', 'remote or being outside the speaker's view'). These particles were used as such in the ancient languages only. They are replaced by the demonstrative pronouns in the modern languages, although their traces may be found in various interrogative and demonstrative words; cf. idu 'this', udu 'this', 'that', adu 'that' in Kannada, ivaṉ, avaṉ 'he, evaṉ 'who' in Tamil.

Verb enclitics expressing various modal meanings are common in some of the Dravidian languages; cf. the particles min 'would' in Parji and ma 'would' in Kuvi. The former is used in the finite forms of the Past Continuous, while the latter belongs to the finite forms of the Past or to the conditional verbal participle; cf. cūṟrin 'I saw' - cūṟrin min 'I would take a look', ūasi hacihe ma nānu jak'e hac'ē ma 'if he had left I would have left as well'. The conditional particles -ra 'if' in Tulu and -te 'if' in Naiki are used in the finite forms of the Present or Past Continuous in Tulu and the Future or the Past in Naiki; cf. malpuve-ṟa 'if I do', malta-ṟa 'if you did', sitan-te 'if I gave', sidan-te 'if he gives'. The potential-subjunctive meaning is expressed by the particle nekk'ā in Kurukh, where it is used in the finite forms of the Present; cf. esdan 'I break' - esdan-nekk'ā 'I may break', 'I might have broken', 'I would break'.

Some of the Dravidian languages have a special type of enclitics - the so-called expletive or void particles , i.e. particles which do not express any meaning or whose meaning is lost; cf. keri(n) in Gadaba: sūṟi or sūri-keri 'having seen'. Old Tamil abounded in expletive particles whose function frequently was to help keep the metric pattern.

The negative enclitic mala 'not' is used with the

finite forms of the Future in Malto; e.g. āden-mala 'I shall not choose', ādene-mala 'thou wilt not choose', ādeh-mala 'he will not choose', etc.

The so-called pronominal enclitics are a specific feature of Brahui (-ka in the first person singular, -nan in the first person plural, -ne in the second person singular, -num in the second person plural, -ta in the third person singular, -tā in the third person plural). These enclitics express a direct or indirect object of action (similarly to the analogous enclitics in the Iranian languages) or the possessivity of an object (like the possessive suffixes in the Finno-Ugric languages); cf. xalkus 'thou struckest' - xalkus-ka 'thou struckest me', pātavēs 'thou didst not tell' - pātavēs-ka 'thou didst not tell me', bāva 'father' - bāva-ta pārē 'his father told', bāva pārē-ta 'father told him'.

The postpositive indefinite article -as(e) is regularly used in Brahui and the postpositive definite article -(a)s , with the masculine substantives in Kurukh; cf. bandaġ 'man' - bandaġas 'a man', bandaġase 'a man' (Acc.), 'to a man', bandaġaseaṭ 'by a man', bandaġasētō 'with a man' in Brahui and āl 'man' - ālas, kukō 'boy' - kukos in Kurukh.

In spite of their apparent antiquity some of the Dravidian particles are believed to have originated from nouns. Thus, the proclitics might have had an anusvāra - *iṁ, *uṁ, *aṁ, *eṁ - and possessed a substantival meaning: *iṁ 'something close to the speaker' (cf. the suffix of the Instrumental -iṁ in Old Kannada), *uṁ 'something close to another person or object' (cf. the use of the enclitic um 'and', 'also' with the meaning of the interrelationship or proximity to each other), *aṁ 'something remote' (cf. the suffix of the Accusative -aṁ in Old Kannada), *eṁ 'what' (cf. en 'what' in Tamil).

C O N J U N C T I O N S

The conjunctions as a separate part of speech are not typical of the Dravidian languages. Thus, there is only

one conjunction eṅga 'and' in Kui, and only two - ini 'and' and ginni 'but' - in Kolami (cf. amd ini ān 'he and I'). In most cases conjuctions are borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages; cf. ki 'what', tō 'then' in Brahui and Kurukh, yadī 'if', par 'but' in Gondi, pare 'but', 'however' in Malto, aga (from agar), 'if', maga (from magar) 'but' in Brahui, aur 'and' in Kurukh - all borrowed from Hindi.

Scarcity or even absence of conjunctions in the Dravidian languages is compensated for by extensive use of the verbal and nominal forms in the function of conjunctions.

P O S T P O S I T I O N S

The Dravidian postpositions perform the function analogous to that of the prepositions in the Indo-European languages, differing from the latter only in the place they occupy in the sentence.

Similarly to the prepositive government in many languages, the Dravidian languages have developed postpositive government. The postpositions may be combined with the declinable words in the Genitive (e.g. in Telugu, Naiki, Kui), Dative or Accusative (e.g. in Kolami), Ablative (e.g. in Brahui), etc. Besides postpositional combinations with the words in the Nominative are common in some Dravidian languages. E.g. ane kel 'to me', apaṛe kel 'to the house' in Naiki, inun saṭṭi 'for thee', bēsiṅ sīr 'on Thursday', imun veṭṭa 'with you' in Kolami, 'ullīām bā (from 'ullīān + bā) 'as a horse', 'like a horse' in Brahui, erpā ūlā 'in the house' in Kurukh, paysāṅg micuk 'without money' in Gondi.

Prepositions are not found in the Dravidian languages. The only exception are three Brahui postpositions (beġayr, bā, savā 'without', 'except') borrowed from an Iranian source and capable of being irregularly used prepositively; cf. beġayr kanā 'ukmān 'without my order', but nā māteān beġayr 'except thy son'.

IMITATIVE WORDS

Words which imitate linguistically environmental phenomena or their aspects as well as various emotional states form a separate part of speech in the Dravidian languages - imitative words. Along with onomatopoeia, i.e. imitations of various noises and inarticulate sounds, imitative words include image-bearing words, which imitate objects, states and actions according to their qualitative features elicited from visual, tactile, olfactory and bodily perceptions as well as from emotional appraisals given by the speaker. Thus the Tamil gaṇīr expresses the clink of metal, the Kannada game expresses a pleasant and sweet smell, the Telugu malamala expresses sharpness, intensity and the Kui jilijilu expresses a sensation of a bright flash, glitter, etc.

The imitative words are uninflected. Their functional role in the sentence varies from the subject (rarely) to the nominal attribute (more often) and adverbial modifier (commonly); e.g. aśu pōṛuxiṟa 'kuckuc' cum kay suẓaṯṯalum vaṇḍi meyil māśiri varuvaśāxap pāvaṉey 'this 'kuckuc' of his (the child's) and waving of hands expressed the coming of the mail train', tiṟīrt tākkuśal naṛattat tiṭṭamiṭṭirundārxaḷ 'they decided to carry out a surprise (tiṟīr) attack' in Tamil, īr magga magga vaa 'water flows slowly (magga magga)', indeḍ nīv ipaṭe kak vaḍi vaḍi 'today bake the bread quickly quickly (vaḍi vaḍi)' in Kolami.

The imitative words appear to be an indigenous feature of the Dravidian languages. True, some imitative words may be related to verb roots whose meaning is similar; cf. Ta. veṟukk-eṉḏu 'with disgust' and veṟ-/veṟukk- 'to feel disgust'. This, however, may be connected with a later inclusion of some verb roots into the imitative words; cf. Ta. avaḷ viṛuviṛu-v-eṉḏu uḷḷē pōṉāḷ 'she went into the room seemingly worried' (lit. 'went saying let me go, let me go' with viṛ- 'to let', 'to leave').

E C H O - W O R D S

A characteristic feature of the Dravidian languages is the use of spontaneous words which echo (rhyme) other words. Such words, known as echo-words, borrow their grammatical form from the word they duplicate; they may have case, number and gender formants or verbal form suffixes, etc.

Echo-words are usually formed by changing the initial syllable into kĭ- or gĭ- ; cf. mēsey 'table' - mēsey kĭsey in Tamil, isy 'rat' - isy xisy in Toda, makkaḷu 'children' - makkaḷu gikkaḷu in Kannada, gurramu 'horse' - gurramu girramu in Telugu, māsur 'people' - māsur gĭsur, tĭn 'eat' - tĭn gĭn in Kolami.[81] Sometimes the echo-words are formed by changing the initial syllable into some syllable containing other consonants than k- or g-: koñjam 'a little' - koñjam nañjam in Tamil, kūṭel 'cows' - kūṭel mūṭel, bāla 'child' - bāla sūla in Kolami, pāy 'bread' - pāy muy, apaṛ 'house' - apaṛ mupaṛ in Naiki, 'it 'talk' - 'It mIt in Brahui.

Echo-words do not have any independent lexical meaning and are never used without the words they echo. The latter acquire a meaning of indefiniteness and/or contempt; cf. in Tamil payttiyam 'madness' - payttiyam kiyttiyam 'a kind of madness', pasikkiṟaδû '(he) has a feeling of hunger' - pasikkiṟaδû kisikkiṟaδû '(he always) has this damned feeling of hunger', ippo 'now' - ippo kippo 'now and then', etc.

Although in each separate case echo-words are grammaticaly inflected (e.g. kiyttiyam has the form of the Nominative singular substantive, kisikkiṟaδû is the third person singular neuter of the Present tense), they cannot be inflected in a paradigm without the word they duplicate, so practically they are uninflected. Echo-words differ

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81 Cf. also M.B.Emeneau, "Echo-Words in Toda" - NIA, 1, pp. 107-117.

from all other words in that they have no root (or have one common root which is practically the same), therefore they have no independent lexical meaning obtaining in the root.

INTERJECTIONS

The interjections are used in the Dravidian languages to attract the attention of the addressee (yē, rō, rē in Gondi, o in Malto, ē, anē in Kurukh, gi, gī in Kolami, ō, ōri, ōsi in Telugu, aḍe in Kui, ḍēy, aṛā, aṛi in Tamil, etc.) or to express various emotions of the speaker (ayyō 'woe' in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, ayyo 'woe' in Tulu, ayyu 'woe' in Malto, cī 'fie' in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Telugu, ōxō, ōhō (oho' in Tamil, Kannada, Tulu, Telugu, śābās 'bravo' in Brahui, etc.).

Many interjections derive from significative words (cf. iōō 'here', aōō 'there' in Tamil, abbā 'O dear' (lit. 'father!') in Telugu, abba-re id. in Malto, ayyappa id. in Tulu) or are borrowed from other languages (vax vā 'hey!' in Brahui).

THE SYNTAX

The general pattern of the sentence syntax is common to all Dravidian languages, which does not exclude a variety of peculiarities in separate languages. Unfortunately, poor knowledge of smaller languages as well as gaps in their existing descriptions do not allow for definite conclusions about the relevance of a particular syntactic feature. On the whole, the Dravidian syntax distinguishes between the simple sentences, on the one hand, and complex and compound sentences, on the other.

THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

THE SUBJECT

The Dravidian subject may be expressed by the following means:

(1) a substantive in the Nominative; e.g. mīn nīrare tirrata 'the fish[1] jumped[4] from[3] the water[2]' in Parji;

(2) a numeral in the Nominative; e.g. nālugu nālugulu padahāru 'four[1] (times) four[2] (is) sixteen' in Telugu;

(3) a pronoun in the Nominative; e.g. āḷů maṛikēriṛůdů battaṛů 'she came from Mercara[2]' in Tulu;

(4) a personal noun in the Nominative; e.g. īru roateru veska pēskaṭu 'let[4] one[2] of you[1] chop[4] the wood[3] in Kui;

(5) a participial noun in the Nominative; e.g. ēn tūde piṭnen uṛarken 'I[1] was wounded[4] when I was killing[3] the tiger[2]' (lit. 'I[1] tiger[2] killing-I[3] being-wounded-I[4]') in Malto;

(6) a verbal noun in the Nominative; e.g. agga handānā varītātōnā 'I am afraid[3] to go[2] there[1]' in Gondi; pillalni[3] koṭṭaṛam[4] ćālā[2] porabātu[1] '(it is) a great mistake to beat the children' in Telugu;

(7) an infinitive; e.g. pāṭe bāriṅ punam 'we do not know (how) to sing[2] songs[1]' in Gadaba;

(8) an imitative word; e.g. aδů pōṛuxiṟa 'kuckuc'-cum kay suẓaṯṯalum vaṇḍimeyil māδiri varuvaδāxap pāvaṉey 'by the child[1] prattled[2] 'kuckuc'[3] and waving of hands[4] expressed[8-9] the coming of the mail train[6-7]' in Tamil;

(9) an echo-word; e.g. iṅgē kucciyum illey, kicciyum illey 'there is no[3] stick[2] here or any kind of it[4] either[5]' (lit. 'here[1] stick[2] no[3], smick[4] no[5]') in Tamil.

THE PREDICATE

A predicate expressed by one word is a simple predicate. A simple predicate may be either verbal, i.e. expressed by a verbal predicative form, or nominal, i.e. expressed by a nominal predicative form. A complex predicate is expressed by two [illegible] words. A complex verbal predicate consists

of several verb forms, and a compound verb-nominal predicate consists of verbal and nominal forms.

The Simple Verbal Predicate

The simple verbal predicate in the Dravidian languages may be expressed by:

(1) a finite form of the verb; e.g. eañju nāṅgi sahtateñju 'he[1] beat[3] me[2]' in Kui, nīv ūruṅ sennemeka 'thou[1] do not go[3] to the village[2]' in Kolami, tintumur aru veṛka cājutumur 'let us eat[1] and be merry[2-4]' in Parji, vāna baḍtē, mī illu kārēnu 'if the rain[1] falls[2], your[3] house[4] will probably leak[5]' in Telugu, ellāvarum satyam paṟayēṇam 'all should speak the truth' in Malayalam;

(2) an infinitive; e.g. nāṉ eṉṉa seyya? 'what[2] (am) I[1] to do[3]?' in Tamil;

(3) a participial noun; e.g. īru iḍu tini ḍēspi manateru 'you[1] build (lit. 'those who build[4-5]') the house' in Kui;

(4) a supine; e.g. yāṉ vāẓunāḷum paṇṇaṉ vāẓiya 'let[4] Paṇṇaṉ[3] live[4] as long as[2] I[1] shall live[2]' in Tamil;

(5) a verbal noun; e.g. ōftā tavār kanniṅg, nanā urānā pē'iṅg '(when) they[1] raised[3] a cry[2], we[4] entered[6] the house[5]' in Brahui;

(6) a conditional verbal participle; e.g. avaḷ veḷiyē taley nīṭṭiṉāl tāṉē! 'O if[4] only[5] she[1] would look[3-4] (lit. 'thrust her head') out[2]!' in Tamil.

The Simple Nominal Predicate

A simple nominal predicate may be expressed by:

(1) a noun in the Nominative; e.g. ā sīre haḷdi baṇṇa 'that[1] sari[2] (is) of yellow[3] colour[4]' in Kannada;

(2) a numeral in the Nominative; e.g. paóiṉeẓu paṉṉiraṇḍù irunūṯṯunālu 'seventeen[1] per twelve[2] (is) two hundred and four[3]' in Tamil;

(3) a pronoun in the Nominative; e.g. avanu yāru? 'who[2](is) he[1]?' in Kannada;

(4) a personal noun in the Nominative; e.g. koḷtōṛ bātōṛīṭ? '(to) what division[2] of the Gonds[1] (do) you[2] (belong)?' in Gondi;

(5) an adverb; e.g. mī ill ekkaṛa? 'where[3](is) your[1] home[2]?' in Telugu.

The Complex Verbal Predicate

One of the most common types of the Dravidian complex verbal predicate is a combination of the infinitive with verbal forms meaning 'to begin', 'to finish', 'to intend', 'to want', 'can', 'to compel', 'to experience', etc. E.g. kuẓandey aẓa ārambittaôû 'the child[1] began[3] to cry[2]' in Tamil, nīnu hōga bēku 'thou[1] must[3] go[2]' in Kannada; nīvu ćadava galavā? 'can[3] you[1] read[2]?' in Telugu, tiṟunīṟē pūsap paṭṭēn 'I was rubbed[2-3] by sacred ashes[1]' (lit. '(I) experienced[3] rubbing[2]') in Tamil.

Another common type of the complex verbal predicate is represented by combinations of verbal participles with finite forms meaning 'to be', 'to take', 'to come', 'to leave', 'throw', 'to put', 'to go away', etc. The meaning of the whole construction is determined by the character of the components as is the case with the infinitive constructions above. Thus, combinations of verbal participles with the finite forms of the verb 'to be' usually express a continuous or perfective character of the action; e.g. māṛiyaṇḍ-uḷḷe 'I am doing', māṛiyaṇḍ-iñje 'I was doing', māṛiyaṇḍ-ippu 'I shall be doing', māṛit-uḷḷiya 'thou hast done' (lit. 'thou art having done'), māṛit-iñje 'I have done' (lit. 'having done I am'), māṛitu ippu 'I shall have done' (lit. 'having done I shall be') in Kodagu or tōssi-ma'i 'I am showing', tōssi-macc'e 'I was showing', tōssa-ma'i 'I have shown', tōssa-macc'e 'I had shown' in Kuvi, ippuṛu mīr ēn jēst unnāru? 'what[3] are[5] you[2] doing[4] now[1]?' in Telugu.

Combinations of verbal participles with the forms of the verb 'to take' usually express either a continuous (often reflexive) action or a perfective action with spatial orientation towards the speaker corresponding to the semantics of the second component; e.g. ī maradalli pakśigaḷu tamage gūṛugaḷannu kaṭṭikoṇṭavu 'birds[3] have built[6] (lit. 'having built took') themselves[4] the nests[5] in this[1] tree[2]' in Kannada or avan ī pustakam vāyiccúkoḷḷunnu 'he[1] is reading (lit. 'reading takes')[4] this[2] book[3] to himself[4]' in Malayalam. Combinations with other verbs usually express a perfective action modified by additional semantic characteristics corresponding to the meaning of the second component; e.g. kask 'inā 'he died' (lit. 'having died went') in Brahui, nāṉ avaḷukkú oru kaṛiśāsi eẓuśip pōṭṭēṉ 'I[1] ventured to write (lit. 'having written threw[5-6]') her[2] a letter[3-4]' in Tamil.

In various Dravidian languages other types of the complex verbal predicate are found which cannot be considered here. The most common of these are combinations of an infinitive, supine, participial or verbal noun with finite forms of the verbs 'to be', 'not to be', 'to become'; e.g. avar avaḷeyp pārkkavilley 'he[1] did not see[3] her[2]' (lit. 'he her see not') in Tamil, yānú pōvere uḷḷe 'I am to go (presently)' in Tulu, nānu ninnannu karedud illa 'I[1] did not call[3] thee[2]' (lit. 'I thee that what called not'), ā citravu ī rātri tōrisal āguvudu 'this[1] picture[2] will[6] be shown[5] tonight[3-4]' (lit. 'of this picture showing will take place') in Kannada.

The Compound Verbal-Nominal Predicate

The most common type of the compound verbal nominal predicate in the Dravidian languages is a combination of a noun, numeral, pronoun or personal noun in the Nominative with a finite form of the verb 'to do', 'to become', 'to be'; e.g. mēm baḷḷō pan jēstām 'I work as a teacher' (lit. 'we[1] do[4] the work[3] in school[2]') in Telugu, dā bandaġ dēr e? 'who[3] is[4] this[1] man[2]?' in Brahui, anā bāmmānā āndan 'I[1] am[3] a brahman[2]'.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE PREDICATE

The predicate agrees with the subject in number, gender and person (depending on the character of these categories in each language and that of the subject and predicate in each particular case); or it may not agree with it formally at all.

Agreement in number, gender and person is observed in those cases when the subject distinguishes these categories, and the predicate is expressed by a verbal form of the third person or another word which also distinguishes these categories; e.g. ōr pāṭa pāḍ pāḍi verrir 'they[1] went[5] singing[3-4] a song[2]' in Parji.

Agreement in number and person is present when both the subject and the predicate distinguish number and person but do not (or at least one of these does not) distinguish gender; e.g. ānu mīṅgi mehpa taṅgi vāte 'I[1] came[5] in order[4] to see[3] you[2]' in Kui.

Agreement in number and gender takes place when the subject and the predicate distinguish number and gender but do not distinguish (or at least one of these does not distinguish) person; e.g. mī snēhitul ēm bhāśa mātlādt unnāru? 'what[3] language[4] does[5-6] your[1] friend[2] speak[5-6]?' in Telugu.

Agreement in number is observed in those cases when the subject and the predicate both distinguish number, but at least one of them does not distinguish person and gender; e.g. indap paṛaxil palar irundōm '(there) were[4] many[3] (of us) in that[1] boat[2]' in Tamil.

When two or more subjects distinguishing gender are united by a single predicate, the latter always appears in the plural agreeing in gender with the subjects; e.g. ammelā magelā batterū 'father[1] and son[2] came' in Tulu.

When two or more subjects distinguishing person are united by a single predicate, the latter appears in the plural agreeing in person with the subject whose person is higher; e.g. nīyum avaṉum pōyiṉīr 'thou[1] and he[2] went[3]' in Tamil or yānūlā īlā batta 'I[1] and thou[2] came[3]' in Tulu.

There is no agreement between the subject and the predicate if at least one of them does not distinguish number, person and gender and if there are no common categories among the ones they distinguish; e.g. nī ī ēḷe aṟiyunnuvō? 'do you[1] know[4] this[2] man[3]?' in Malayalam.

THE ATTRIBUTE

The attribute in the Dravidian languages may be expressed by:

(1) an adjective; e.g. pīunē 'ullī 'white[1] horse[2]' in Brahui;

(2) a participle (including the words which depend on it); e.g. (nēnu) bareda kāgadavu '(by me[1]) written[2] letter[3]' in Kannada, kattale uppu kōṇe 'dark (lit. 'being something dark[1-3]') room[3]', gati dānti naramāni 'helpless (lit. 'having no way out[1-2]') man[3]' in Tulu or mēyvaôatk ēṉa nilam 'pasture (lit. 'for pasture having become[1-2]') land[3]' in Tamil;

(3) an interrogative, demonstrative, possessive, determinative or indefinite pronoun; e.g. ō kōdi 'that[1] cow[2]', ani idu 'what[1] house[2]' in Kui, ivaṉaôú peṇjēôi 'his[1] wife[2]', iṉṉa kāraṇam 'such[1] a cause[2]' in Tamil;

(4) a numeral; e.g. daa mēsur 'ten[1] people[2]' in Kolami;

(5) a substantive (or another inflected word) in the Genitive or Nominative; e.g. himada pradēśavu 'snow[1] country[2]' in Kannada, xēsō kicri 'red[1] (lit. 'redness') cloth[2]' in Kurukh, nī tammuṟu 'thy[1] younger brother[2]' in Telugu, uṇal samayam 'dinner[1] time[2]' in Kannada.

(6) an infinitive; e.g. vāẕa urimey 'right[2] to live[1]', varak kāranam 'reason[2] to come[1]' in Tamil;

(7) an imitative or echo-word; e.g. tiṟīrt tākkuôal 'surprise[1] attack[2]', kūli vēley kīli vēley 'daily[1] or other similar[3] job[2-4]' in Tamil.

THE OBJECT

The Dravidian object may be expressed by a substantive or other declinable word (numeral, pronoun, personal noun, participial noun, verbal noun) in the Nominative, Accusative or Objective, as well as by an imitative or echo-word. The choice of the form of the direct object is governed by the idiom of the language. The general tendency in most of the Dravidian languages is the use of the Accusative (Objective) for objects which denote people and definitely conceived inanimate objects and animals the Nominative being chosen for the objects which denote indefinitely conceived inanimate objects and animals; e.g. tañji tāṛa mrīenii sahteñju 'the father[1] beat[4] his[2] son[3]' in Kui, nēnu kūra-gēylu mātram tiṇṭānu 'I[1] eat[4] only[3] vegetables[2]' in Telugu.

Constructions with two direct objects governed by one verb are frequent in the Dravidian languages; e.g. nīyē nēril ellāvaṯṯeyyum avaṉeyk kēḷ 'ask[5] him[4] personally[2] about all this[3]' in Tamil.

An indirect object may be expressed by a substantive or other declinable word in the Dative, Objective, Instrumental, Instrumental-Ablative, Instrumental-Locative or Comitative; e.g. sōłaki kaccīay akāna 'for the winter[1] we go[3] to Kacci[2]', kane irā xarās arē 'I[1] have[4] two[2] oxen[3]' in Brahui, ōl marstē jītul 'he chopped[3] with an axe[2]' in Gondi, taḍisaka maruskaṅge sasu 'the mother[1] went[3] with (her) daughters[2]' in Kui.

Indirect objects with postpositions are common in many Dravidian languages; e.g. vāri tō mīku pariceyam undā? 'are[5] you[3] acquainted[4] with[2] him[1]?' in Telugu. Indirect objects expressed by a combination of a substantive or other declinable word with a nominal or verbal form in the meaning of a postposition are also widely used; cf. eṉṉeyp paṯṯik kavaleyppaṛēōē 'do not worry[3] about (lit.'having captured')[2] me[1]' in Tamil.

THE ADVERBIAL MODIFIER

The Dravidian languages have adverbial modifiers of manner, degree, place, time, cause, purpose and condition.

The Adverbial Modifier of Manner

The adverbial modifier of manner may be expressed by:

(1) an adverb; e.g. Īru isiṅgi jōṛi gṛāteru? 'how[2] did you[1] cross[4] the river[3]?' in Kui;

(2) a verbal participle or verbal participle phrase; e.g. ōl tiñjōṛē tākandul 'he[1] was going[3] chewing[2] (something)' in Gondi;

(3) an infinitive or infinitive phrase; e.g. avaṉ viyappil kaṇṇey axala virittup pārttāṉ 'he[1] looked[6] widely[4] opening[5] his eyes[3] with surprise[2]' in Tamil;

(4) an imitative word; e.g. Īr magga magga vaa 'water[1] hardly[2-3] flows[4]' in Kolami;

(5) a substantive or other declinable word in the Nominative, Dative, Instrumental or Comitative; e.g. māley avaḷ payaṇam sellap pōxiṟāḷ 'she[2] is going[5] to leave[3-4] in the evening' (lit. 'evening') in Tamil, avaḷ āśāyōṛe kavar poṭṭiccu 'she[1] tore[4] the envelope[3] with hope[2]' in Malayalam;

(6) a combination of a participle, substantive or other declinable word with a postposition or any other form in this function; e.g. avar sonna paṛi seyvāṉ 'I shall do[4] as[3] he[1] told[2]' in Tamil, ē laveñju bikali ṛai ōjiteñju 'that[1] young man[2] turned away[5] in[4] grief[3]' (lit. 'with grief') in Kui.

The Adverbial Modifier of Degree

The adverbial modifier of degree may describe a given feature as expressed to a greater or smaller degree irrespective of its prominence in other cases; it may also characterise this feature as present to a greater or lesser degree in one case than in others.

A greater or lesser degree of the feature irrespective to its prominence in other cases is expressed by an adverb of degree or by a nominal or verbal form with the corresponding lexical meaning, which functions adverbially; e.g. bhāī 'very', jāsti 'more' in Kolami, romba 'much', 'very', saṯṯú 'a little', 'a bit' in Tamil.

The adverbial modifier of degree of a feature as expressed to a greater or lesser degree in one case than in others may be represented by the following means:

(1) a word expressing the feature is qualified by an adverb or adverbial word meaning 'still more', 'still less', 'most', 'least'; e.g. avan pinnum vēxamāxa ōṛinān 'he[1] ran[4] even[2] faster[3]' in Tamil;

(2) the word with which the former is compared appears in the Locative; e.g. sardareh majyente beḍoh 'a sardar[1] (is) higher[3] (than) a village chief[2]' in Malto, ī ponnāluḷu ava nallava 'she[3] (is) the best[4] among[2] these[1] women[2]' in Kodagu;

(3) the word with which the former is compared appears in the Instrumental-Ablative; e.g. nīn eṅgantī sannī taldai 'thou[1] art[4] smaller[3] (than) me[2]' in Kurukh, ī naramānyarūdū ā naramāni mallāye 'that[3] man[4] (is) bigger[5] (than) this[1] man[2]' in Tulu;

(4) the word with which the former is compared appears in the Dative (sometimes with postpositions); e.g. yena kudureguṅ nina kudure malle 'thy[3] horse[4] (is) bigger[5] (than) my[1] horse[2]' in Tulu, yeṛa kudrek iñji nīṛa kudre balyadu 'thy[4] horse[5] (is) bigger[6] than[3] my[1] horse[2]' in Kodagu;

(5) the word with which the former is compared takes a postposition; e.g. nīḷla kaṇṭō pālu mañcivi 'milk[3] (is) better[4] than[2] water[1]' in Telugu.

The Adverbial Modifier of Place

The adverbial modifier of place may be expressed by:

(1) an adverb; e.g. avanu elli hōguvanu? 'where[2] will[3] he[1] go[3]' in Kannada;

(2) a substantive or other decinable word in the form of the Locative, Ablative, Ablative-Locative, Instrumental-Ablative, Instrumental-Locative, Lative, Adessive, Terminative, Dative, Objective or Nominative (sometimes in combination with particles, postpositions and other words); e.g. kanā śa'raṭī tūlik 'he lives[3] in[2] my[1] village[2]', tēnā urāġān pēś tammā 'he went[3-4] out[2] of his[1] house[2]', ōde ḍaġārāy biṭēṭ 'I threw him on the ground', kure 'andā dūnisk xanōs 'thou wilt probably find[4] the herd[1] near[3] that[2] well[3]', dākā mastuṅgiskā śāzda kō' e '(there are) sixteen[3] koses[4] from here[1] to Mastung' in Brahui, ōd mērti urked 'he[1] fell[3] from the tree[2]' in Parji, tudekuḷu kaṛalūgū pōpuṇḍu 'rivers[1] flow[3] into the sea[2]', kāyi maroṛūdu būruṇḍu 'the fruit[1] falls[3] from the tree[2]' in Tulu, vīṛū tirumbinēn 'I returned[2] home[1]' in Tamil.

The Adverbial Modifier of Time

The adverbial modifier of time may be expressed by:

(1) an adverb; e.g. inniniyē seyxa araviney 'perform[2] goodly deeds[3] now[1]' in Tamil;

(2) a substantive or other declinable word in the Locative, Ablative, Ablative-Locative, Instrumental-Ablative, Instrumental-Locative, Terminative, Dative, Comitative or Nominative (sometimes in combination with particles, postpositions and other words); e.g. ā dinoṭu āye saytū pōye 'on[2] that[1] day[2] he[3] died[4-5]' in Tulu, dēān 'inēr 'in the afternoon[1] they went[2]', irā sāliskā ō ja'ān suritav 'for two[1] years[2] he[3] did not move[5] from his place[4]', sēlaki kaccīāy akāna 'we move over[3] to Kacci[2] for winter[1]', śāmaṭō barēva 'I shall come[2] tonight[1]' in Brahui, indōṛū inda avamānam tīrndū vīṛum 'from today on[1] this[2] disgraceful state[3] will be put an end[4-5] to' in Tamil, ivr yeraḍ divsa ill irtāre 'they[1] will spend[5] two[2] days[3] here[4]', bahḷa varṣdinda beṅglūrnal profesar āg iddāre 'for many[1] years[2] already he is[5-6] a professor[4] in Bangalore[3]' in Kannada;

(3) an absolute verbal participle, infinitive or verbnominal phrase; e.g. poṛuśū maṅgi vexu nēram āxi vīṭṭaśū

'much[3] time[4] passed already[5-6] since it became dark[1-2], (lit. 'the sun[1] having set[2], much[3] time[4] passed[5-6]'), tirumaṇam muṟiya iṉṉum oru maṇinēram irundaṡû 'there remained[6] one[4] more[3] hour[5] for the wedding to finish[2]' in Tamil; avaru mātanāṟalu nāvu maneyannu sēridevu '(while) they (were) talking we entered the house' in Kannada.

The Adverbial Modifier of Purpose

The adverbial modifier of purpose may be expressed by:

(1) an adverb; e.g. ēṉ vandāy? 'why[1] hast thou come[2]' in Tamil;

(2) a supine; e.g. avan enne kāṇmān vannu 'he[1] came[4] to see[3] me[2]' in Malayalam;

(3) an infinitive (sometimes with the words related to it); e.g. ōd vercil koyu cended 'he[1] went[4] to reap[3] the rice harvest[2]' in Parji;

(4) a participial or verbal noun in the Dative or in combination with a postposition; e.g. aṡil eṉṉa irukkiṟaṡû beyappaṟuvaṡaṯkû? 'what[2] is[3] there in it[1] to be afraid of[4]?', avaṉ pēsuṡaṯkû aṟeykkappaṭṭāṉ 'he[1] was invited[3] to speak[2]' in Tamil, kūḍiṅga vihpa tiṅgi klai tahpi maneñju 'he is cleaning[5-6] the barn[4] floor to thrash[2-3] the rice[1]' in Kui;

(5) a participle in combination with a postposition, adverb or nominal form in the adverbial function; e.g. ā kelasavannu māḍuv-ante bandanu 'he came[4] to make[3] this[1] job[2]' in Kannada;

(6) a negative verbal participle; e.g. uyirukkû evviṡa āṡattum varāṡû kāttaruḷvāyāxa 'take care[5] (of him) so that[4] no[2] danger[3] should threaten[4] (his) life[1]' in Tamil.

The Adverbial Modifier of Cause

The adverbial modifier of cause may be expressed by:

(1) an adverb; e.g. nī ēṉ aṟuxiṟāy? 'why[2] art[3] thou[1] weeping[3]?' in Tamil;

(2) a substantive or other declinable form in the Instrumental, Instrumental-Ablative or Instrumental-Locative as well as by a combination of such a word with a postposition; e.g. iṛaviṛāδe kaḷḷů kurikkunnaδināl niṅṅaḷ oṛukkam naśicců pōxum 'because of your[3] constantly[1] drinking[3] liquor[2] you[4] will[6-7] finally[5] perish[6-7]' in Malayalam.

(3) an absolute verbal participle, infinitival or verb-nominal phtase; e.g. pāñjāli sirittůt tāṉ bāraδappōr vandaδů 'Draupadi[1] having[2] only[3] laughed[2], the war of the bharats[4] began[5]' in Tamil, maḷe baralu hoḷe heccitu 'rains[1] having started[2], the water level[3] rose[4]' in Kannada;

(4) a participle combined with a postposition, adverb or noun in the adverbial function; e.g. pīju neginaṅga vā'at-aki kuḍi plahaṅga gule sātu 'good[2] rain[1] not falling[3], rice[4] shoots[5] did not sprout[6-7]' in Kui.

The Adverbial Modifier of Condition

The adverbial modifier of condition may be expressed by a conditional verbal participle (or a conditional verbal participle phrase) or a combination of a conditional verbal participle with a verbal participle; e.g. pāδaxañ jeyβavareyk kaṇḍāl nām bayaṅgoḷḷal āxāδů 'we[4] should not[6] be frightened[5] if (we) see[3] people committing[2] evil deeds[1]' in Tamil, ām geṛeti veraḍ kōcin cūṛoma min 'if[3] we[1] did not go[3] to the town[2], we would[6] not see[5] the raja[4]' in Parji.

HOMOGENEOUS PARTS OF THE SENTENCE

Homogeneous parts of the sentence may be connected in the Dravidian languages by:

(1) the intonation (without the help of special words); e.g. avaḷ tōṯṯattey avaḷ saundaryattey varṇikkac colxiṟīrxaḷā? 'you ask[6] (me) to describe[5] her[1] appearance[2], her[3] beauty[4]?', eṉakků ẹẓuδap paṛikkat teriyāδů 'I[1] cannot[4] (either) write[2] (or) read[3]' in Tamil;

(2) particles, conjunctions or conjunctive words; e.g. prīti-lā daya-lā āya svabhāva 'love (to the people)[1] and

kindness[2] (are in) his[3] character[4]', kēṇḍe ēvaṛū bayya ēvaṛū barpe 'I shall come[5] either[2] in the morning[1] or[4] in the evening[3]' in Tulu, Inu eṅga nī ambesa vīe vāderu gina ā'e? 'wilt[6] thou[1] and[2] thy[3] brother[4] come[6] tomorrow[5] or[7] not[8]?' in Kui;

(3) generalising words, such as pronouns, numerals or participial nouns; e.g. aṡu neruṅga neruṅga, kuṡirey, oṭṭaxam, yāney ivaṭṭin kūṭṭam eṇḍū aṛindāṇ 'as[2-3] it[1] was approaching[2-3], he saw[10] that[9] (there was) a multitude[8] of horses[4], camels[5] and elephants[6]' (lit. 'horse, camel, elephant - of these multitude'), veyil, maẓey, kuḷir, pāṇi paruvamāṭṭaṅgaḷ oṇḍum avaleyp pāṡippaṡilley 'heat[1], rain[2], cold[3], dew[4], change of seasons[5] - nothing (lit. 'no one')[6] (of these) exerted[8] its influence[8] on her[7]', ṇṇa iyalāṡa kuṡireyxaḷ, oṭṭaxaṅgaḷ, riṡaāṅgaḷ, raṡaṅgaḷ, vaṇḍixaḷ ēxiyavey eṅgeṅgum kāṇappaṭṭana 'numerous[1-2] horses[3], camels[4], donkeys[5], waggons[6] and carts[7] were seen[10] everywhere[9]' (lit. 'those who were[8] horses[3], camels[4], donkeys[5], waggons[6] and carts[7] were seen[10]') in Tamil.

WORD ORDER

Word order in the Dravidian extended sentence is usually characterised by the following features:

(a) the subject precedes the predicate;

(b) the predicate occupies the final place in the sentence;

(c) the object immediately precedes the predicate (when there are a direct and indirect objects the former is closer to the predicate);

(d) the attribute immediately precedes the word qualified;

(e) the adverbial modifiers of time and place are at the beginning of the sentence either before or after the subject; other adverbial modifiers precede the words they modify.

Departures from this order (sometimes rather considerable) are common in an emotionally coloured speech, especially in the colloquial usage and poetry.

THE COMPOUND SENTENCE

Asyndetic compound sentences are quite frequent in the Dravidian languages; e.g. sūrya prakāśa korpuṇḍu, ayta raviḷu bhūmida mittu̇ būruṇḍu 'the sun[1] radiates[3] light[2], its[4] rays[5] fall[8] on[7] the earth[6]' in Tulu, nāṉ uṉakku̇ oru peṇ pārttirukkiṟēṉ inda vārattil kaliyāṇam muṛittu̇ viṛalām 'I[1] found[5] the bride[3-4] for thee[2], this[6] week[7] the wedding[8] may be[10] arranged[9]' in Tamil.

Conjunctions, particles and various conjunctive words (namely, nominal and non-finite forms) are widely used in the Dravidian languages to connect the parts of the compound sentence; e.g. vāḷḷaki kaḷḷa mundu anēkam ǰarugutuntayi, kāni avi vāriki teliyavu 'much happens[5] before[3] their[1] eyes[2] but[6] it[7] is incomprehensible[9] for them[8]' in Telugu, anēkeregu̇ yeḍḍe upāya gontuṇḍu aṇḍalā avenu̇ naṛapuṛiyere ākuḷegu̇ sāmarthya ijji 'appropriate[2] means[3] are available[4] to many[1] but[5] they[8] cannot[8-9] use[7] them[6]' in Tulu.

THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

The subordinate clause in the complex sentence is usually connected with the principal clause by means of conjunctions, conjunctive words (most commonly non-finite verb forms), particles or correlative pairs which consist of a demonstrative word in the principal clause and the corresponding interrogative word in the subordinate clause; e.g. ataṛu baṛiki alasyamgā vaccāṛu gānuka śikśiñcāṉnu[3-4] 'I punished[6] (him) because[5] he[1] was late (lit. 'came late') for school[2]' in Telugu, aṇṇikki conney-y-ē andε kaδε sollu̇ pāṭṭi 'grandmother[6], tell[5] (me) that[3] tale[4] which thou[2] toldst[2] the other day[1]' in Tamil, mī-lō ā pani yevaṛu bāgā cēstaṛō vāniki padi rūpāyalu istānu 'I shall give[10] ten[8] rupees[9] to that[7] of you[1] who[4] will do[6] this[2] work[3] well[5]' in Telugu, īnu ḍāṭa gaṭati iñji āmu puñji manamu 'we[5] know[6-7] that (lit. 'saying') thou[1] art a strong[2] man[3]' in Kui, ēru̇ pāpa maḷpuve-nā āye ayta phala tinu̇mbe 'who[1] perpetrates[3] sins[2] he[4] will taste[7] of their[5] fruit[6]', appe amme eñjitti-n-ākuḷ-ā añjitti-n-ākuḷu bāleḷu 'as[3] the

parents (lit. 'father', 'mother')[1-2] so[4] the children[5]' in Tulu, ceyyẹ̄ṇam ennů ñān divasandōṟum kalpikkunn eṅgilum nī aśů orikkalum nannāyi ceyyunn illa 'although (lit. 'if to say[6]') I[3] every day[4] make[5] (thee) do (lit. 'must do having said')[1] (this) thou[7] never[9-12] do[11] this[8] well[10]' in Malayalam.

Asyndetic complex sentences are also quite common in the Dravidian languages; e.g. nāmo seyyalɛ avarů seyrārů 'he[3] does[4] (what) we[1] did not[1]' in Tamil, āme vaykhari ćūćē nijamgānē āmek ēmī teliyadu anipiñcindi 'a look[3] at[2] her[1] face[2] made it clear[8] (that) she[5] really[4] did not know[7] anything[6]' in Telugu, eañju esoni ketaṅga uha maneñju īnu ēra eanii venumu 'thou[6] ask[9] him[8] (about)[7] how many[2] rice fields[3] he[1] tilled[4-5]', nāi vespa veñjanai ē ḍehiṅgi ginañju eañju vaḍi kuiṭi iḍu ḍēsnani māratañju 'he who[6] listens[3] to my[1] advice[2] and behaves[6] accordingly (lit. 'according to them[4]') is like[7-12] (lit. 'he[7] /is/ a man like[12]') a man building[11] his house[10] on[9] sand[8]' in Kui.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

The Dravidian peoples and tribes are not autochthonous in India, where they appeared probably not later than the fourth millennium B.C. The question of their origin and history before they came to India is still open although some hypotheses have already been put forward about the possible prehistoric contacts of the Dravidians and their languages with many other peoples and languages.[82]

Among the numerous hypotheses to this effect the one that postulates some contacts or even remote kinship between the Dravidian and Uralic languages on the basis of of rich linguistic evidence is the most plausible. The

82 Cf. M.Andronov, "Materials for a Bibliography of Dravidian Linguistics", Kuala Lumpur, 1966, Nos. 14, 15, 54, 67, 68, 95, 110, 146, 228, 262, 266, 319, 359, 376, 467, 470, 526, 547, 548, 551, 639, 645, 653, 658, 659, 697.

adherents of this theory include R.Caldwell[83], O.Schrader[84], A.F.Thyagaraju,[85] E.H.Tuttle[86], K.Bouda[87]; this theory (in O.Schrader's interpretation) was also supported by J.Bloch[88] and S.P.Tolstov.[89].

The most convincing material in favour of this hypothesis was elaborated by T.Burrow, who compiled seventy-two etymological units of the words which denote bodily parts in these languages; he thinks that "it would not be possible to produce between any two languages the same amount of detailed comparisons as can be made between Dravidian and Uralian without giving reason to believe that those languages were themselves related"[90]. Later it was discovered that significant parallels between those two language groups exist not in the vocabulary alone, but that they cover morphology as well; cf., e.g., double identity of the tense formants (i and s in the Past, -Ø- and -k- in the Present-Future), as well as the similarity of some plural formants (-k, -l, -t) and the Dative, Accusative and Genitive suffixes[91].

The character of relations between Dravidian and Uralian is still far from clear. Probably, the existing picture is not a result of vocabulary borrowing, as some scholars think, nor is it a case of distant genetic affini-

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83 R.Caldwell, "A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages", London, 1913.
84 O.Schrader, "Dravidisch und Uralisch", ZII, Bd.3, 1925; "On the Uralian Element in the Dravidian and Munda Languages", BSO(A)S, vol. 8, 1936.
85 A.F.Thyagaraju, "Glossarial Affinities between Dravidian and Uralian", QJMS, vol. 21, 1930.
86 E.H.Tuttle, "Finnic and Dravidian", New Haven, (s.a.).
87 K.Bouda, "Dravidisch und Uralaltaisch", Lingua, t.5,1956.
88 J.Bloch, "Le Dravidien", Les Langes du Monde, Paris, 1952, p. 486.
89 S.P.Tolstov, "Drevnij Xorezm", Moscow, 1948, pp. 65, 66, 350.
90 T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies IY (The Body in Dravidian and Uralian", BSO(A)S, vol. 10, 1944, p. 330.
91 M.Andronov, "New Evidence of Possible Linguistic Ties between the Deccan and the Urals", Dr.R.P.Sethu Pillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, Madras, 1961, pp. [illegible]-140; M.Andronov, "Two Lectures on the Historicity of Language Families", Annamalainagar, 1968.

ty, as suggested by others, but of prehistoric contacts of a quite different type.

The Dravidian languages played the role of a substratum on the territory of India in relation to the Indo-Aryan languages, which appeared there later and whose subsequent development was markedly influenced by the Dravidian languages. This influence was operative not only in vocabulary[92] but in phonetics (the development of the retroflexed consonants, simplification of the consonantal clusters, etc.), morphology (disappearance of prepositions and development of postpositions, simplification of the verb system, loss of the degrees of comparison in the adjective, etc.) and syntax as well (the omission of the link-verb, wide use of verbal participle chains, changes in word order, etc.)[93].

The influence of the Indo-Aryan languages on Dravidian has been much less investigated. It is most pronounced in vocabulary.[94]

In phonetics and grammar it is sometimes possible to trace the Indo-European influence in at least some of the Dravidian languages. In case of Brahui this is the influence of the neighbouring Indo-Iranian language Baluchi, which is responsible, according to M.B.Emeneau, for a loss of the short o and e in Brahui, as well as for the loss of the Dravidian gender, the loss of the distinction between the inclusive and the exclusive in the pronouns of the first person plural, the appearance of the prefix a- in some verb forms and, finally, the development of pronominal enclitics of the Iranian type[95].

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92 Cf. T.Burrow, "Dravidian Studies YII", BSO(A)S, vol.12, 1948; "Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit", TPS, 1946; "Some Loanwords in Sanskrit", TPS, 1946; "The Sanskrit Language", London, 1955, pp. 373-388.

93 The most generalised treatment cf. in S.K.Chatterji, "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language", Calcutta, 1926, pp. 170-178; J.Bloch, L'indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes, Paris, 1934, pp. 321-331.

94 M.B.Emeneau and T.Burrow, "Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan", Berkeley, 1962.

95 M.B.Emeneau, "Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar", Berkeley, 1962, pp. 7-20, 47-61.

J.Bloch recognises the Indo-Aryan influence in Brahui, Kurukh and Gondi in the way certain negative verb forms are constructed by means of linking up positive forms with negative words.[96] A similar case is attested in some of the Tamil dialects.[97] On the other hand, there are cases of the development of formal affinity between functionally and structurally close elements in the languages of both groups.[98]

In this connection M.B.Emeneau pointed out that the reciprocal influence between the Dravidian (resp. Munda) and Indo-Aryan languages should be treated as two aspects of one problem, which may be formulated as "...diffusion of linguistic traits across genetic boundaries"[99]. According to M.B.Emeneau this diffusion leads to the emergence of common "Indian" features in the languages under consideration, many of which are in fact neither Indo-Aryan, nor Dravidian or Munda[100].

These problems in spite of their apparent difference are actually two parts of one problem - the emergence and development of language families in general, the historicity of language families.

The fact is that linguistic kinship inside a language family is not primaeval or eternal, it develops gradually and gradually may it weaken and disappear altogether. Remote ties between Dravidian and Uralian are a trace of some prehistoric epoch of their community when the Dravidian, Ugro-Finnic and Samoyed languages did not exist as such but were preceded by other earlier linguistic communities, whose evolution, diffusion and recomposition produced

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96 J.Bloch, "Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes", p. 50.
97 M.Andronov, Razgovorny tamil'sky yazyk i ego dialekty", s. 35-36.
98 M.Andronov, "On the Typological Similarity of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian", IL, 25, 1964, pp. 119-126.
99 M.B.Emeneau, "India as a Linguistic Area", Lg, 32, 1956, p. 3.
100 Ibid., p.7. Cf. also M.B.Emeneau, "Dravidian and Indian Linguistics, 1, India and Historical Grammar: Some Problems of Method", Berkeley, 1962.

the language families of today. The Deccan-Urals ties which are not those of kinship now, reflect the remote past of the Dravidian family, shedding some light on the history of its emergence[101].

On the other hand, the evident contacts between the Dravidian languages and the Indo-Aryan languages represent their future. For the past three and a half thousand years the Indo-Aryan languages have lost some of their original traits and ceased to be Indo-European in the full sense of the word[102]. The modern Dravidian languages also differ considerably from the Old Dravidian pattern and have become closer to the Indo-Aryan languages. Both families developed common elements identical not only functionally but formally as well. If the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages continue to develop in this direction there are reason to believe that in future they will differ less from one another than they now differ from their respective ancestors. The present tendency towards forming materially identical structures in languages of both groups may go even further and lead to the formation of new kinship ties and a new language family whose character will be neither Dravidian nor Indo-European[103].

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101 For more detail about the nature of Dravido-Uralian ties cf. M.Andronov, "Two Lectures on the Historicity of Language Families", Annamalainagar, 1968.

102 Thus, they no longer contain the six obligatory structural characteristics of the Indo-European languages established by N.S.Trubetzkoy: "Es gibt keine indogermanische Sprache ohne Präfixe... In den jüngeren indogermanischen Sprachen nimmt die Zahl solcher Präfixe stark zu... Eine Sprache, die nicht alle gennanten Strukturmerkmale besitzt, darf nicht als indogermanisch gelten." (N.Trubetzkoy, "Gedanken über das Indogermanenproblem", AL, 1, 1939, SS. 84, 85).

103 For more detail cf. M.Andronov, "Two Lectures on the Historicity of Language Families", Annamalainagar, 1968.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AL	-	Acta Linguistica, Copenhagen
AORM	-	Annals of Oriental Research, Madras
BDA	-	Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta
BSO(A)S	-	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London
BSL	-	Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris
ERM	-	Educational Review, Madras
IA	-	Indian Antiquary, Bombay
IIJ	-	Indo-Iranian Journal, The Hague
IL	-	Indian Linguistics, Poona
JAOS	-	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven
JRAS	-	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
Lg	-	Language, Baltimore
MSL	-	Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris
NIA	-	New Indian Antiquary, Bombay
OC	-	Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference
QJMS	-	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
TC	-	Tamil Culture, Madras
TPS	-	Transactions of the Philological Society, London
ZII	-	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig

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Abl.,	Ablative	B.,	Brahmanic
Acc.,	Accusative	Br.,	Brahui
Adess.,	Adessive	b.v.,	before vowels

C.,	Ceylonese	Ma.,	Malayalam
coll.,	colloquial	Mal.,	Malto
Com.,	Comitative	masc.,	masculine
Cond.,	Conditional	neg.,	negative
C.V.P.	Conditional Verbal Participle	neut.,	neuter
		Nk.,	Naiki
Dat.,	Dative	Nom.,	Nominative
dial.,	dialect(al)	O.,	Old
Dr.,	Dravidian	Obj.,	Objective
ep(ic).,	epicene	Obl.,	Obligatory
F.,	Future	Opt.,	Optative
fem.,	feminine	P.,	Past
Fr.,	Frequentative	Pa.,	Parji
Ga.,	Gadaba	Part.,	Participle
Gen.,	Genitive	P.C.,	Past Continuous
Go.,	Gondi	pers.,	person
hon.,	honorific	pl.,	plural
Jhal.,	Jhalawan	Plup.,	Pluperfect
Imp.,	Imperative	P.N.,	Participial Noun
incl.,	inclusive	Pot.,	Potential
Inf.,	Infinitive	P.P.,	Past Perfect
Instr.,	Instrumental	Pr.,	Present
i.q.,	in questions	Pr.Dr.,	Proto-Dravidian
Ka.,	Kannada	Pr.-F.,	Present-Future
Ko.,	Kota	Ta.,	Tamil
Kod.,	Kodagu	Te.,	Telugu
Kol.,	Kolami	Term.,	Terminative
Kon.,	Konda	To.,	Toda
Ku.,	Kuvi	Tu.,	Tulu
Kur.,	Kurukh	s.,	south(ern)
Lat.,	Lative	sg.,	singular
lit.,	literary	V.N.,	Verbal Noun
Loc.,	Locative	V.P.	Verbal Participle
M.,	Modern	vulg.,	vulgar

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